WILLIAM LILLY.

ELIAS ASHMOLE.

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THE LIVES

OF THOSE

EMINENT ANTIQUARIES

ELIAS ASHMOLE, Eſquire,

AND

Mr. WILLIAM LILLY,

WRITTEN BY THEMSELVES;

CONTAINING, FIRST,

WILLIAM LILLY's HISTORY of His LIFE and TIMES,

With NOTES, by Mr. ASHMOLE:

SECONDLY,

LILLY's LIFE AND DEATH OF CHARLES THE FIRST:

AND LASTLY,

The LIFE of ELIAS ASHMOLE, Eſquire,

By Way of DIARY.

With Several OCCASIONAL LETTERS,

By CHARLES BURMAN, Eſquire.

LONDON:

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G. R. III.
DIEU ET MON DROIT

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

ALTHOUGH we cannot, with juſtice, compare Elias Aſhmole to that excellent Antiquary John Leland, or William Lilly to the learned and indefatigable Thomas Hearne; yet I think we may fairly rank them with ſuch writers as honeſt Antony Wood, whoſe Diary greatly reſembles that of his cotemporary, and intimate friend, Elias Aſhmole.

Some

Some anecdotes, connected with affairs of ſtate; many particulars relating to illuſtrious perſons, and antient and noble families; ſeveral occurrences in which the Public is intereſted, and other matters of a more private nature, can only be found in works of this kind. Hiſtory cannot ſtoop to the meanneſs of examining the materials of which Memoirs are generally compoſed.

And yet the pleaſure and benefit reſulting from ſuch books, are manifeſt to every reader.

I hope the admirers of the very laborious Thomas Hearne will pardon me, if I ſhould venture to give it as my opinion, and with much deference to their judgment, that William Lilly's Life and Death of Charles the firſt, contains more uſeful matter of inſtruction, as well as more plendid and ſtriking occurrences, than are to be found in ſeveral of thoſe monkiſh

iſh volumes publiſhed by that learned Oxonian.

Lilly affords us many curious particulars relating to the life of that unfortunate Prince, which are no where elſe to be found. In delineating the character of Charles, he ſeems diſpaſſionate and impartial, and indeed it agrees perfectly with the general portraiture of him, as it is drawn by our moſt authentic Hiſtorians.

The Hiſtory of Lilly's Life and Times is certainly one of the moſt entertaining narratives in our language. With reſpect to the ſcience he profeſſed of calculating nativities, caſting figures, the prediction of events, and other appendages of Aſtrology, he would fain make us think that he was a very ſolemn and ſerious Believer. Indeed, ſuch is the manner of telling his ſtory, that ſometimes the Reader may poſſibly be induced to ſuppoſe Lilly rather an Enthuſiaſt than an Impoſtor. He

relates

relates many anecdotes of the pretenders to foretell events, raiſe ſpirits, and other impoſtures, with ſuch ſeeming candor, and with ſuch an artleſs ſimplicity of ſtyle, that we are almoſt perſuaded to take his word when he proteſts ſuch an inviolable reſpect to truth and ſincerity.

The powerful genius of Shakeſpeare could carry him triumphantly through ſubjects the moſt unpromiſing, and fables the moſt improbable: we therefore cannot wonder at the ſucceſs of ſuch of his plays, where the magic of witches, and the incantation of ſpirits are deſcribed, or where the power of Fairies is introduced; when ſuch was the Credulity of the times reſpecting theſe imaginary Beings, and when that belief was made a ſcience of, and kept alive by artful and ſuperſtitious, knaviſh and enthuſiaſtic teachers; what Lilly relates of theſe people, conſidered only as matter of fact, is ſurely very curious.

To conclude; I know no Record but this where we can find ſo juſt, and ſo entertaining a Hiſtory of Doctor Dee, Doctor Forman, Booker, Winder, Kelly, Evans, (Lilly's Maſter) the famous William Poole, and Captain Bubb Fiſke, Sarah Shelborne, and many others.

To theſe we may add, the uncommon effects of the Cryſtal, the appearance of Queen Mabb, and other ſtrange and miraculous, operations, which owe their origin to folly, curioſity, ſuperſtition, bigotry and impoſture.

T. D.

WILLIAM HERSCHEL,

ASTRONOMER.

I WAS born in the county of Leicester, in an obscure town, in the north-west border thereof, called Dilworth, seven miles south of the town of Derby, one mile from Castle-Donington, a town of great note, wherein it is not remembered that any of the farmers thereof did ever educate any of their sons to learning, only my grandfather sent his younger

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM LILLY, STUDENT IN ASTROLOGY.

Wrote by himſelf in the 66th Year of his Age, at HERSHAM, in the Pariſh of WALTON upon THAMES, in the County of SURRY.

Propria Manu.

I WAS born in the county of Leiceſter, in an obſcure town, in the north-weſt borders thereof, called Diſeworth, ſeven miles ſouth of the town of Derby, one mile from Caſtle-Donnington, a town of great rudeneſs, wherein it is not remembered that any of the farmers thereof did ever educate any of their ſons to learning, only my grandfather ſent his younger

ſon to Cambridge, whoſe name was Robert Lilly, and died Vicar of Cambden in Glouceſterſhire, about 1640.

The town of Diſeworth did formerly belong unto the Lord Seagrave, for there is one record in the hands of my couſin Melborn Williamſon, which mentions one acre of land abutting north upon the gates of the Lord Seagrave; and there is one cloſe, called Hall-cloſe, wherein the ruins of ſome ancient Buildings appear, and particularly where the dove-houſe ſtood; and there is alſo the ruins of decayed fiſh-ponds and other outhouſes. This town came at length to be the inheritance of Margaret, Counteſs of Richmond, Mother of Henry VII. which Margaret gave this town and lordſhip of Diſeworth unto Chriſt's College in Cambridge, the Maſter and Fellows whereof have ever ſince, and at preſent, enjoy and poſſeſs it.

In the church of this town there is but one monument, and that is a white marble ſtone, now almoſt broken to pieces, which was placed there by Robert Lilly, my grandfather, in memory of Jane his wife, the daughter of Mr. Poole of Dalby, in the ſame county, a family now quite extinguiſhed. My grandmother's brother was Mr. Henry Poole, one of the Knights of Rhodes, or Templars, who being

being a ſoldier at Rhodes at the taking thereof by Solyman the Magnificent, and eſcaping with his life, came afterwards to England, and married the Lady Parron or Perham, of Oxfordſhire, and was called, during his life, Sir Henry Poole. William Poole the Aſtrologer knew him very well, and remembers him to have been a very tall perſon, and reputed of great ſtrength in his younger years.

The impropriation of this town of Diſeworth was formerly the inheritance of three ſiſters, whereof two became votaries; one in the nunnery of Langly in the pariſh of Diſeworth, valued at the ſuppreſſion, I mean the whole nunnery, at thirty-two pounds per annum, and this ſiſter's part is yet enjoyed by the family of the Grayes, who now, and for ſome years paſt, have the enjoyment and poſſeſſion of all the lands formerly belonging to the nunnery in the pariſh of Diſeworth, and are at preſent of the yearly value of three hundred and fifty pounds per annum. One of the ſiſters gave her part of the great tithes unto a religious houſe in Bredon upon the Hill; and, as the inhabitants report, became a religious perſon afterwards.

The third ſiſter married, and her part of the tithes in ſucceeding ages became the

Earl of Huntingdon's, who not many years ſince ſold it to one of his ſervants.

The donation of the vicarage is in the gift of the Grayes of Langley, unto whom they pay yearly, (I mean unto the Vicar) as I am informed, ſix pounds per annum. Very lately ſome charitable citizens have purchaſed one third portion of the tithes, and given it for a maintenance of a preaching miniſter, and it is now of the value of about fifty pounds per annum.

There have been two hermitages in this pariſh; the laſt hermit was well remembered by one Thomas Cooke, a very ancient inhabitant, who in my younger years acquainted me therewith.

This town of Diſeworth is divided into three pariſhes; one part belongs unto Lockington, in which part ſtandeth my father's houſe, over-againſt the weſt end of the ſteeple, in which I was born: ſome other farms are in the pariſh of Bredon, the reſt in the pariſh of Diſeworth.

In this town, but in the pariſh of Lockington, was I born, the firſt day of May, 1602.

My father's name was William Lilly, ſon of Robert, the ſon of Robert, the ſon of Rowland, &c. My mother was Alice, the daughter of Edward Barham, of Fiſkerton Mills, in Nottinghamſhire, two miles from Newark upon Trent: this Edward

ward Barham was born in Norwich, and well remembered the rebellion of Kett the Tanner, in the days of Edward VI.

Our family have continued many ages in this town as yeomen; beſides the farm my father and his anceſtors lived in, both my father and grandfather had much free land, and many houſes in the town, not belonging to the college, as the farm wherein they were all born doth, and is now at this preſent of the value of forty pounds per annum, and in poſſeſſion of my brother's ſon; but the freehold land and houſes, formerly purchaſed by my anceſtors, were all ſold by my grandfather and father; ſo that now our family depend wholly upon a college leaſe. Of my infancy I can ſpeak little, only I do remember that in the fourth year of my age I had the meaſles.

I was, during my minority, put to learn at ſuch ſchools, and of ſuch maſters, as the rudeneſs of the place and country afforded; my mother intending I ſhould be a ſcholar from my infancy, ſeeing my father's backſlidings in the world, and no hopes by plain huſbandry to recruit a decayed eſtate; therefore upon Trinity Tueſday, 1613, my father had me to Aſhby de la Zouch, to be inſtructed by one Mr. John Brinſley; one, in thoſe times, of great abilities for inſtruction of youth in

the Latin and Greek tongues; he was very ſevere in his life and converſation, and did breed up many ſcholars for the univerſities: in religion he was a ſtrict Puritan, not conformable wholly to the ceremonies of the Church of England. In this town of Aſhby de la Zouch, for many years together, Mr. Arthur Hilderſham exerciſed his miniſtry at my being there; and all the while I continued at Aſhby, he was ſilenced. This is that famous Hilderſham, who left behind him a commentary on the fifty-firſt Pſalm; as alſo many ſermons upon the fourth of John, both which are printed: he was an excellent textuary, of exemplary life, pleaſant in diſcourſe, a ſtrong enemy to the Browniſts, and diſſented not from the Church of England in any article of faith, but only about wearing the ſurplice, baptizing with the croſs, and kneeling at the ſacrament; moſt of the people in the town were directed by his judgment, and ſo continued, and yet do continue preſbyterianly affected; for when the Lord of Loughborough in 1642, 1643, 1644, and 1645, had his garriſon in that town, if by chance at any time any troops of horſe had lodged within the town, though they came late at night to their quarters; yet would one or other of the town preſently give Sir John Gell of Derby notice, ſo

that ere next morning moſt of his Majeſty's troops were ſeized in their lodgings, which moved the Lord of Loughborough merrily to ſay, there was not a fart let in Aſby but it was preſently carried to Derby.

The ſeveral authors I there learned were theſe, viz. Sententiæ Pueriles, Cato, Corderius, Æſop's Fables, Tully's Offices, Ovid de Triſtibus; laſtly, Virgil, then Horace; as alſo Camden's Greek Grammar, Theognis and Homer's Iliads: I was only entered into Udall's Hebrew Grammar; he never taught Logick, but often would ſay it was fit to be learned in the univerſities.

In the fourteenth year of my age, by a fellow ſcholar of ſwarth, black complexion, I had like to have my right eye beaten out as we were at play; the ſame year, about Michaelmas, I got a ſurfeit, and thereupon a fever, by eating beech-nuts.

In the ſixteenth year of my age I was exceedingly troubled in my dreams concerning my ſalvation and damnation, and alſo concerning the ſafety and deſtruction of the ſouls of my father and mother; in the nights I frequently wept, prayed and mourned, for fear my ſins might offend God.

In the ſeventeenth year of my age my mother died.

In the eighteenth year of my age my maſter Brinſley was enforced from keeping ſchool, being perſecuted by the Biſhop's officers, he came to London, and then lectured in London, where he afterwards died. In this year, by reaſon of my father's poverty, I was alſo enforced to leave ſchool, and ſo came to my father's houſe, where I lived in much penury for one year, and taught ſchool one quarter of a year, until God's providence provided better for me.

For the two laſt years of my being at ſchool, I was of the higheſt form in the ſchool, and chiefeſt of that form; I could then ſpeak Latin as well as Engliſh; could make extempore verſes upon any theme; all kinds of verſes, Hexameter, Pentameter, Phaleuciacks, Iambicks, Sapphicks, &c. ſo that if any ſcholars from remote ſchools came to diſpute, I was ringleader to diſpute with them; I could cap verſes, &c. If any miniſter came to examine us, I was brought forth againſt him, nor would I argue with him unleſs in the Latin tongue, which I found few of them could well ſpeak without breaking Priſcian's head; which, if once they did, I would complain to my maſter, *Non bene intelligit linguam Latinam, nec prorſus loquitur*. In the derivation of words, I found moſt

moſt of them defective, nor indeed were any of them good grammarians: all and every of thoſe ſcholars who were of my form and ſtanding, went to Cambridge and proved excellent divines, only poor I, William Lilly, was not ſo happy; fortune then frowning upon father's preſent condition, he not in any capacity to maintain me at the univerſity.

Of the Manner how I came unto London.

Worthy ſir, I take much delight to recount unto you, even all and every circumſtance of my life, whether good, moderate, or evil; *Deo gloria*.

My father had one Samuel Smatty for his Attorney, unto whom I went ſundry times with letters, who perceiving I was a ſcholar, and that I lived miſerably in the country, loſing my time, nor any ways likely to do better, if I continued there; pitying my condition, he ſent word for me to come and ſpeak with him, and told me that he had lately been at London, where there was a gentleman wanted a youth, to attend him and his wife, who could write, &c.

I acquainted my father with it, who was very willing to be rid of me, for I could

could not work, drive the plough, or endure any country labour; my father oft would ſay, I was good for nothing.

I had only twenty ſhillings, and no more, to buy me a new ſuit, hoſe, doublet, &c. my doublet was fuſtian: I repaired to Mr. Smatty, when I was accoutred, for a letter to my maſter, which he gave me.

Upon Monday, April 3, 1620, I departed from Diſeworth, and came to Leiceſter: but I muſt acquaint you, that before I came away I viſited my friends, amongſt whom I had given me about ten ſhillings, which was a great comfort unto me. On Tueſday, April the 4th, I took leave of my father, then in Leiceſter gaol for debt, and came along with Bradſhaw the carrier, the ſame perſon with whom many of the Duke of Buckingham's kindred had come up with. Hark how the waggons crack with their rich lading! It was a very ſtormy week, cold and uncomfortable: I footed it all along; we could not reach London until Palm-Sunday, the 9th of April, about half an hour after three in the afternoon, at which time we entered Smithfield. When I had gratified the carrier and his ſervants, I had ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence left, and no more; one ſuit of cloaths upon

upon my back, two ſhirts, three bands, one pair of ſhoes, and as many ſtockings. Upon the delivery of my letter my maſter entertained me, and next day bought me a new cloak, of which you may imagine (good Eſquire) whether I was not proud of; beſides, I ſaw and eat good white bread, contrary to our diet in Leiceſterſhire. My maſter's name was Gilbert Wright, born at Market Boſworth in Leiceſterſhire; my miſtreſs was born at Aſhby de la Zouch, in the ſame county, and in the town where I had gone to ſchool. This Gilbert Wright could neither write nor read; he lived upon his annual rents, was of no calling or profeſſion; he had for many years been ſervant to the Lady Pawlet in Hertfordſhire; and when Serjeant Puckering was made Lord keeper, he made him keeper of his lodgings at Whitehall. When Sir Thomas Egerton was made Lord Chancellor, he entertained him in the ſame place; and when he married a widow in Newgate Market, the Lord Chancellor recommended him to the company of Salters, London, to admit him into their company, and ſo they did, and my maſter in 1624, was maſter of that company; he was a man of excellent natural parts, and would ſpeak publickly upon any occaſion very rationally and to the purpoſe. I

write

write this, that the world may know he was no taylor, or myſelf of that or any other calling or profeſſion: My work was to go before my maſter to church; to attend my maſter when he went abroad; to make clean his ſhoes; ſweep the ſtreet; help to drive bucks when we waſhed; fetch water in a tub from the Thames: I have helped to carry eighteen tubs of water in one morning, weed the garden; all manner of drudgeries I willingly performed; ſcrape trenchers, &c. If I had any profeſſion, it was of this nature: I ſhould never have denied my being a taylor, had I been one; for there is no calling ſo baſe, which by God's mercy may not afford a livelihood; and had not my maſter entertained me, I would have been of a very mean profeſſion ere I would have returned into the country again; ſo here ends the actions of eighteen years of my life.

My maſter married his ſecond wife for her eſtate; ſhe was competently rich; ſhe married him for conſiderations he performed not, (nocturnal ſociety) ſo that they lived very uncomfortably; ſhe was about ſeventy years of age, he ſixty ſix or more; yet never was any woman more jealous of a huſband than ſhe; inſomuch, that whenſoever he went into London, ſhe was confident of his going

to

to women; by thoſe means my life was the more uncomfortable, it being very difficult to pleaſe two ſuch oppoſite natures: However, as to the things of this world I had enough, and endured their diſcontents with much ſereneneſs. My miſtreſs was very curious to know of ſuch as were then called cunning or wiſe men, whether ſhe ſhould bury her huſband? She frequently viſited ſuch perſons, and this occaſion begot in me a little deſire to learn ſomething that way, but wanting money to buy books, I laid aſide theſe motions, and endeavoured to pleaſe both maſter and miſtreſs.

Of my Miſtreſs's Death, and Occaſion thereof by Means of a Cancer in her Breaſt.

In 1622 ſhe complained of a pain in her left breaſt, whereon there appeared at firſt a hard knob no bigger than a ſmall pea; it increaſed in a little time very much, was very hard, and ſometimes would look very red; ſhe took advice of ſurgeons, had oils, ſear-cloths, plates of lead, and what not: In 1623 it grew very big, and ſpread all over her breaſt; then for many weeks pultices were applied to it, which in continuance of time broke the ſkin, and

and then abundance of watery thin ſtuff came from it, but nothing elſe; at length the matter came to ſuppuration, but never any great ſtore iſſued forth; it was exceeding noiſome and painful; from the beginning of it until ſhe died, ſhe would permit no ſurgeon to dreſs it but only myſelf; I applied every thing unto it, and her pains were ſo great the winter before ſhe died, that I have been called out of my bed two or three times in one night to dreſs it and change plaiſters. In 1624 by degrees with ſciſſars I cut all the whole breaſt away, I mean the ſinews, nerves, &c. In one fortnight, or little more, it appeared, as it were, mere fleſh, all raw, ſo that ſhe could ſcarce endure any unguent to be applied. I remember there was a great cleft through the middle of the breaſt, which when that fully appeared ſhe died, which was in September 1624; my maſter being then in the country, his kindred in London would willingly have had mourning for her; but by advice of an eſpecial friend of his I contradicted them; nor would I permit them to look into any cheſt or trunk in the houſe: She was decently buried, and ſo fond of me in the time of her ſickneſs, ſhe would never permit me out of her chamber, gave me five pounds in old gold, and ſent me unto a private trunk of

hers

hers at a friend's houſe, where ſhe had one hundred pounds in gold; ſhe bid me bring it away and take it, but when I opened the trunk I found nothing therein; for a kinſman of hers had been there a few days before and carried all away: She was in a great paſſion at my relating thereof, becauſe ſhe could not gratify my pains in all her ſickneſs, adviſed me to help myſelf when ſhe was gone, out of my maſter's goods, which I never did.

Courteous Eſquire, be not weary of reading hereof, or what followeth.

When my miſtreſs died, ſhe had under her arm-hole a ſmall ſcarlet bag full of many things, which, one that was there delivered unto me. There was in this bag ſeveral ſigils, ſome of Jupiter in Trine, others of the nature of Venus, ſome of iron, and one of gold, of pure angel-gold, of the bigneſs of a thirty three ſhilling piece of King James's coin. In the circumference on one ſide was engraven, *Vicit Leo de tribu Judæ Tetragrammaton* ✝, within the middle there was engraven an holy lamb. In the other circumference there was Amraphel and three ✝. In the middle, *Sanctus Petrus*, *Alpha* and *Omega*.

The occaſion of framing this ſigil was thus; her former huſband travelling into Suſſex, happened to lodge in an inn, and

to

to lie in a chamber thereof; wherein, not many months before a country grazier had lain, and in the night cut his own throat; after this night's lodging he was perpetually, and for many years, followed by a ſpirit, which vocally and articulately provoked him to cut his throat; he was uſed frequently to ſay, 'I defy thee, I defy thee,' and to ſpit at the ſpirit; this ſpirit followed him many years, he not making any body acquainted with it; at laſt he grew melancholly and diſcontented; which being carefully obſerved by his wife, ſhe many times hearing him pronounce, 'I defy thee,' &c. ſhe deſired him to acquaint her with the cauſe of his diſtemper, which he then did. Away ſhe went to Dr. Simon Forman, who lived then in Lambeth, and acquaints him with it; who having framed this ſigil, and hanged it about his neck, he wearing it continually until he died, was never more moleſted by the ſpirit: I ſold the ſigil for thirty two ſhillings, but tranſcribed the words *verbatim* as I have related. Sir, you ſhall now have a ſtory of this Simon Forman, as his widow, whom I well knew, related it unto me. But before I relate his death, I ſhall acquaint you ſomething of the man, as I have gathered them from ſome manuſcripts of his own writing.

Of

Of Dr. Simon Forman.

He was a chandler's ſon in the city of Weſtminſter. He travelled into Holland for a month in 1580, purpoſely to be inſtructed in aſtrology, and other more occult ſciences; as alſo in phyſick, taking his degree of Doctor beyond ſeas: being ſufficiently furniſhed and inſtructed with what he deſired, he returned into England towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and flouriſhed until that year of King James, wherein the Counteſs of Eſſex, the Earl of Somerſet, and Sir Thomas Overbury's matters were queſtioned. He lived in Lambeth with a very good report of the neighbourhood, eſpecially of the poor, unto whom he was charitable. He was a perſon that in horary queſtions (eſpecially thefts) was very judicious and fortunate; ſo alſo in ſickneſſes, which indeed was his maſterpiece. In reſolving queſtions about marriage he had good ſucceſs: in other queſtions very moderate. He was a perſon of indefatigable pains. I have ſeen ſometimes half one ſheet of paper wrote of his judgment upon one queſtion; in writing whereof he uſed much tautology, as you may ſee yourſelf (moſt excellent Eſquire) if you read a great book of Dr.

Flood's, which you have, who had all that book from the manuſcripts of Forman; for I have ſeen the ſame word for word in an Engliſh manuſcript formerly belonging to Doctor Willoughby of Glouceſterſhire. Had Forman lived to have methodized his own papers, I doubt not but he would have advanced the Jatromathematical part thereof very compleatly; for he was very obſervant, and kept notes of the ſucceſs of his judgments, as in many of his figures I have obſerved. I very well remember to have read in one of his manuſcripts, what followeth.

'Being in bed one morning' (ſays he) 'I 'was deſirous to know whether I ſhould 'ever be a Lord, Earl or Knight, &c. 'whereupon I ſet a figure, and thereupon 'my judgment:' by which he concluded, that within two years time he ſhould be a Lord or great man: 'But,' ſays he, 'before the two years were expired, the 'Doctors put me in Newgate, and nothing came.' Not long after, he was deſirous to know the ſame things concerning his honour or greatſhip. Another figure was ſet, and that promiſed him to be a great Lord within one year. But he ſets down, that in that year he had no preferment at all; only 'I became 'acquainted with a merchant's wife, by 'whom I got well.' There is another

figure

figure concerning one Sir———Ayre his going into Turkey, whether it would be a good voyage or not: The Doctor repeats all his aſtrological reaſons, and muſters them together, and then gave his judgment it would be a fortunate voyage. But under this figure, he concludes, 'this proved not ſo, for he was 'taken priſoner by pirates ere he arrived in 'Turkey, and loſt all.' He ſet ſeveral queſtions to know if he ſhould attain the philoſophers ſtone, and the figures, according to his ſtraining, did ſeem to ſignify as much; and then he tuggs upon the aſpects and configurations, and elected a fit time to begin his operation; but by and by, in concluſion, he adds, 'ſo the 'work went very forward; but upon the '□ of ☌ the ſetting-glaſs broke, and I 'loſt all my pains:' He ſets down five or ſix ſuch judgments, but ſtill complains all came to nothing, upon the malignant aſpects of ♄ and ♂. Although ſome of his aſtrological judgments did fail, more particularly thoſe concerning himſelf, he being no way capable of ſuch preferment as he ambitiouſly deſired; yet I ſhall repeat ſome other of his judgments, which did not fail, being performed by conference with ſpirits. My miſtreſs went once unto him, to know when her huſband, then in Cumberland, would return,

he having promiſed to be at home near the time of the queſtion; after ſome conſideration, he told her to this effect: 'Margery,' for ſo her name was, thy huſband will not 'be at home theſe eighteen days; his kindred have vexed him, and he is come 'away from them in much anger: he is 'now in Carliſle, and hath but three pence 'in his purſe.' And when he came home he confeſſed all to be true, and that upon leaving his kindred he had but three pence in his purſe. I ſhall relate one ſtory more, and then his death.

One Coleman, clerk to Sir Thomas Beaumont of Leiceſterſhire, having had ſome liberal favours both from his Lady and her daughters, bragged of it, &c. The Knight brought him into the ſtar-chamber, had his ſervant ſentenced to be pilloried, whipped, and afterwards, during life, to be impriſoned. The ſentence was executed in London, and was to be in Leiceſterſhire: Two keepers were to convey Coleman from the Fleet to Leiceſter. My miſtreſs taking conſideration of Coleman, and the miſeries he was to ſuffer, went preſently to Forman, acquainted him therewith; who, after conſideration, ſwore Coleman had lain both with mother and daughters; and beſides ſaid, that the old Lady being afflicted with fits of the mother, called him into

her

her chamber to hold down the fits with his hands; and that he holding his hands about the breaſt, ſhe cried 'Lower, lower,' and put his hands below her belly; and then——He alſo told my miſtreſs in what poſture he lay with the young Ladies, &c. and ſaid, 'they intend in Leiceſter to whip 'him to death; but I aſſure thee, Mar-'gery, he ſhall never come there; yet they 'ſet forward tomorrow,' ſays he; and ſo his two keepers did, Coleman's legs being locked with an iron chain under the horſe's belly. In this nature they travelled the firſt and ſecond day; on the third day the two keepers, ſeeing their priſoner's civility the two preceding days, did not lock his chain under the horſe's belly as formerly, but locked it only to one ſide. In this poſture they rode ſome miles beyond Northampton, when, on a ſudden, one of the keepers had a neceſſity to untruſs, and ſo the other and Coleman ſtood ſtill; by and by the other keeper deſired Coleman to hold his horſe, for he had occaſion alſo: Coleman immediately took one of their ſwords, and ran through two of the horſes, killing them ſtark dead; gets upon the other, with one of the ſwords; 'Farewell, gen-'tlemen,' quoth he, 'tell my maſter I have 'no mind to be whipped in Leiceſterſhire,' and ſo went his way. The two keepers

in all haſte went to a gentleman's houſe near at hand, complaining of their miſfortune, and deſired of him to purſue their priſoner, which he with much civility granted; but ere the horſes could be got ready, the miſtreſs of the houſe came down, and enquiring what the matter was, went to the ſtable, and commanded the horſes to be unſaddled, with this ſharp ſpeech—'Let the Lady Beaumont 'and her daughters live honeſtly, none of 'my horſes ſhall go forth upon this oc-'caſion.'

I could relate many ſuch ſtories of his performances; as alſo what he wrote in a book left behind him, *viz.* 'This I made 'the devil write with his own hand in 'Lambeth Fields 1596, in June or July, 'as I now remember.' He profeſſed to his wife there would be much trouble about Carr and the Counteſs of Eſſex, who frequently reſorted unto him, and from whoſe company he would ſometimes lock himſelf in his ſtudy a whole day. Now we come to his death, which happened as follows; the Sunday night before he died, his wife and he being at ſupper in their garden-houſe, ſhe being pleaſant, told him, that ſhe had been informed he could reſolve, whether man or wife ſhould die firſt; 'Whether ſhall I' (quoth ſhe) 'bury 'you or no?' 'Oh Trunco,' for ſo he called her,

her, 'thou wilt bury me, but thou wilt 'much repent it.' 'Yea, but how long firſt?' 'I ſhall die,' ſaid he, 'ere Thurſday night.' Monday came, all was well. Tueſday came, he not ſick. Wedneſday came, and ſtill he was well; with which his impertienent wife did much twit him in the teeth. Thurſday came, and dinner was ended, he very well: he went down to the water-ſide, and took a pair of oars to go to ſome buildings he was in hand with in Puddle-dock. Being in the middle of the Thames, he preſently fell down, only ſaying, 'An impoſt, an impoſt,' and ſo died. A moſt ſad ſtorm of wind immediately following. He died worth one thouſand two hundred pounds, and left only one ſon called Clement. All his rarities, ſecret manuſcripts, of what quality ſoever, Dr. Napper of Lindford in Buckinghamſhire had, who had been a long time his ſcholar; and of whom Forman was uſed to ſay he would be a dunce: Yet in continuance of time he proved a ſingular aſtrologer and phyſician. Sir Richard now living I believe has all thoſe rarities in poſſeſſion, which were Forman's, being kinſman and heir unto Dr. Napper. [His ſon Thomas Napper, Eſq; moſt generouſly gave moſt of theſe manuſcripts to Elias Aſhmole, Eſq;] I hope you will pardon this digreſſion.

After my miſtreſs was dead, I lived moſt comfortably, my maſter having a great affection for me.

The year 1625 now comes on, and the plague exceeding violent, I will relate what I obſerved the ſpring before it broke forth. Againſt our corner houſe every night there would come down, about five or ſix of the clock, ſometime one hundred or more boys, ſome playing, others as if in ſerious diſcourſe, and juſt as it grew dark would all be gone home; many ſucceeding years there was no ſuch, or any concourſe uſually, no more than four or five in a company. In the ſpring of 1625, the boys and youths of ſeveral pariſhes in like number appeared again, which I beholding, called Thomas Sanders, my landlord, and told him, that the youth and young boys of ſeveral pariſhes did in that nature aſſemble and play, in the beginning of the year 1625. 'God bleſs us,' quoth I, 'from a plague this year;' but then there ſucceeded one, and the greateſt that ever was in London. In 1625, the viſitation encreaſing, and my maſter having a great charge of money and plate, ſome of his own, ſome other men's, left me and a fellow-ſervant to keep the houſe, and himſelf in June went into Leiceſterſhire. He was in that year feoffee collector

lector for twelve poor alms-people living in Clement-Dane's Church-Yard; whoſe penſions I in his abſence paid weekly, to his and pariſh's great ſatisfaction. My maſter was no ſooner gone down, but I bought a baſs-viol, and got a maſter to inſtruct me; the intervals of time I ſpent in bowling in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, with Wat the cobler, Dick the blackſmith, and ſuch like companions: We have ſometimes been at our work at ſix in the morning, and ſo continued till three or four in the afternoon, many times without bread or drink all that while. Sometimes I went to church and heard funeral ſermons, of which there was then great plenty. At other times I went early to St. Antholine's in London, where there was every morning a ſermon. The moſt able people of the whole city and ſuburbs were out of town; if any remained, it were ſuch as were engaged by pariſh-offices to remain; no habit of a gentleman or woman continued; the woeful calamity of that year was grievous, people dying in the open fields and in the open ſtreets. At laſt, in Auguſt, the bills of mortality ſo encreaſed, that very few people had thoughts of ſurviving the contagion: The Sunday before the great bill came forth, which was of five thouſand and odd hundreds, there was appointed a ſacra-

a ſacrament at Clement Dane's; during the diſtributing whereof I do very well remember we ſang thirteen parts of the one hundred and nineteeth Pſalm. One Jacob, our miniſter (for we had three that day, the communion was ſo great) fell ſick as he was giving the ſacrament, went home, and was buried of the plague the Thurſday following. Mr. James, another of the miniſters, fell ſick ere he had quite finiſhed, had the plague, and was thirteen weeks ere he recovered. Mr. Whitacre, the laſt of the three, eſcaped not only then, but all the contagion following, without any ſickneſs at all; though he officiated at every funeral, and buried all manner of people, whether they died of the plague or not. He was given to drink, ſeldom could preach more than one quarter of an hour at a time, &c. In November my maſter came home. My fellow-ſervant's and my diet came weekly to ſix ſhillings and ſix pence, ſometimes to ſeven ſhillings, ſo cheap was diet at that time.

In February of that year, my maſter married again (one who after his death became my wife). In the ſame year he ſettled upon me, during my life, twenty pounds *per annum*, which I have enjoyed ever ſince, even to the writing hereof.

May

May 22, 1627, my maſter died at the corner houſe in the Strand, where I alſo lived ſo long. He died inteſtate; my miſtreſs relinquiſhing the adminiſtration, it came to his elder brother, who aſſigned the eſtate over to me for payment of my maſter's debts; which being paid, I faithfully returned the remaining part unto his adminiſtrator; nor had one penny of the eſtate more than twenty pounds *per annum*, which was allowed me by contract, to undertake the payment of my maſter's debts.

Of my Marriage the firſt Time.

My miſtreſs had been twice married to old men, was now reſolved to be couzened no more; ſhe was of a brown ruddy complexion, corpulent, of but mean ſtature, plain, no education, yet a very provident perſon, and of good condition: She had many ſuitors, old men, whom ſhe declined; ſome gentlemen of decayed fortunes, whom ſhe liked not, for ſhe was covetous and ſparing: By my fellow-ſervant ſhe was obſerved frequently to ſay, ſhe cared not if ſhe married a man that would love her, ſo that he had never a penny; and would ordinarily talk of me when ſhe was in bed: This ſervant

vant gave me encouragement to give the onſet: I was much perplexed hereat, for ſhould I attempt her, and be ſlighted, ſhe would never care for me afterwards; but again, I conſidered that if I ſhould attempt and fail, ſhe would never ſpeak of it; or would any believe I durſt be ſo audacious as to propound ſuch a queſtion, the diſproportion of years and fortune being ſo great betwixt us: However, all her talk was of huſbands, and in my preſence ſaying one day after dinner, ſhe reſpected not wealth, but deſired an honeſt man; I made anſwer, I thought I could fit her with ſuch a huſband; ſhe aſked me, where? I made no more ado, but preſently ſaluted her, and told her myſelf was the man: She replied, I was too young; I ſaid nay; what I had not in wealth, I would ſupply in love; and ſaluted her frequently, which ſhe accepted lovingly; and next day at dinner made me ſit down at dinner with my hat on my head, and ſaid, ſhe intended to make me her huſband; for which I gave her many ſalutes, &c.

I was very careful to keep all things ſecret, for I well knew, if ſhe ſhould take counſel of any friend, my hopes would be fruſtrated, therefore I ſuddenly procured her conſent to marry, unto which ſhe aſſented; ſo that upon the eighth day of

of September 1627, at St. George's church in Southwark, I was married unto her, and for two whole years we kept it ſecret. When it was divulged, and ſome people blamed her for it, ſhe conſtantly replied, that ſhe had no kindred; if I proved kind, and a good huſband, ſhe would make me a man; if I proved otherwiſe, ſhe only undid herſelf. In the third and fourth years after our marriage, we had ſtrong ſuits of law with her firſt huſband's kindred, but overthrew them in the end. During all the time of her life, which was until October 1633, we lived very lovingly, I frequenting no company at all; my exerciſes were ſometimes angling, in which I ever delighted: My companions, two aged men. I then frequented lectures, two or three in a week; I heard Mr. Sute in Lombard-Street, Mr. Gouge of Black-Fryars, Dr. Micklethwait of the Temple, Dr. Oldſworth, with others, the moſt learned men of theſe times, and leaned in judgment to Puritaniſm. In October 1627, I was made free of the Salters company in London.

How I came to ſtudy Aſtrology.

It happened on one Sunday 1632, as myſelf and a Juſtice of Peace's clerk were, before

before ſervice, diſcourſing of many things, he chanced to ſay, that ſuch a perſon was a great ſcholar, nay, ſo learned, that he could make an Almanack, which to me then was ſtrange: One ſpeech begot another, till, at laſt, he ſaid, he could bring me acquainted with one Evans in Gun-Powder-Alley, who had formerly lived in Staffordſhire, that was an excellent wiſe man, and ſtudied the Black Art. The ſame week after we went to ſee Mr. Evans. When we came to his houſe, he having been drunk the night before, was upon his bed, if it be lawful to call that a bed whereon he then lay; he rouſed up himſelf, and, after ſome compliments, he was content to inſtruct me in aſtrology; I attended his beſt opportunities for ſeven or eight weeks, in which time I could ſet a figure perfectly: Books he had not any, except Haly de judiciis Aſtrorum, and Orriganus's Ephemerides; ſo that as often as I entered his houſe, I thought I was in the Wilderneſs. Now ſomething of the man: He was by birth a Welſhman, a Maſter of Arts, and in ſacred orders; he had formerly had a cure of ſouls in Staffordſhire, but now was come to try his fortunes at London, being in a manner enforced to fly for ſome offences very ſcandalous committed by him in theſe parts, where he had lately lived;

for

for he gave judgment upon things loſt, the only ſhame of aſtrology: He was the moſt ſaturnine perſon my eyes ever beheld, either before I practiſed or ſince; of a middle ſtature, broad forehead, beetle-browed, thick ſhoulders, flat noſed, full lips, down-looked, black curling ſtiff hair, ſplay-footed; to give him his right, he had the moſt piercing judgment naturally upon a figure of theft, and many other queſtions, that I ever met withal; yet for money he would willingly give contrary judgments, was much addicted to debauchery, and then very abuſive and quarrelſome, ſeldom without a black eye, or one miſchief or other: This is the ſame Evans who made ſo many antimonial cups, upon the ſale whereof he principally ſubſiſted; he underſtood Latin very well, the Greek tongue not at all: He had ſome arts above, and beyond aſtrology, for he was well verſed in the nature of ſpirits, and had many times uſed the circular way of invocating, as in the time of our familiarity he told me. Two of his actions I will relate, as to me delivered. There was in Staffordſhire a young gentlewoman that had, for her preferment, married an aged rich perſon, who being deſirous to purchaſe ſome lands for his wife's maintenance; but this young gentlewoman, his wife, was

deſired

deſired to buy the land in the name of a gentleman, her very dear friend, but for her uſe: After the aged man was dead, the widow could by no means procure the deed of purchaſe from her friend; whereupon ſhe applies herſelf to Evans, who, for a ſum of money, promiſes to have her deed ſafely delivered into her own hands; the ſum was forty pounds. Evans applies himſelf to the invocation of the angel Salmon, of the nature of Mars, reads his Litany in the Common-Prayer-Book every day, at ſelect hours, wears his ſurplice, lives orderly all that time; at the fortnight's end Salmon appeared, and having received his commands what to do, in a ſmall time returns with the very deed deſired, lays it down gently upon a table where a white cloth was ſpread, and then, being diſmiſſed, vaniſhed. The deed was, by the gentleman who formerly kept it, placed among many other of his evidences in a large wooden cheſt, and in a chamber at one end of the houſe; but upon Salmon's removing and bringing away the deed, all that bay of building was quite blown down, and all his own proper evidences torn all to pieces. The ſecond ſtory followeth.

Some time before I became acquainted with him, he then living in the Minories, was deſired by the Lord Bothwell and

and Sir Kenelm Digby to ſhow them a ſpirit. He promiſed ſo to do: the time came, and they were all in the body of the circle, when lo, upon a ſudden, after ſome time of invocation, Evans was taken from out the room, and carried into the field near Batterſea Cauſeway, cloſe to the Thames. Next morning a countryman going by to his labour, and eſpying a man in black cloaths, came unto him and awaked him, and aſked him how he came there? Evans by this underſtood his condition, enquired where he was, how far from London, and in what pariſh he was; which when he underſtood, he told the labourer he had been late at Batterſea the night before, and by chance was left there by his friends. Sir Kenelm Digby and the Lord Bothwell went home without any harm, came next day to hear what was become of him; juſt as they in the afternoon came into the houſe, a meſſenger came from Evans to his wife, to come to him at Batterſea. I enquired upon what account the ſpirit carried him away: who ſaid, he had not, at the time of invocation, made any ſuffumigation, at which the ſpirits were vexed. It happened, that after I diſcerned what aſtrology was, I went weekly into Little-Britain, and bought many books of aſtrology, not acquainting Evans therewith.

Mr. A. Bedwell, Miniſter of Tottenham-High-Croſs near London, who had been many years chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, whilſt he was Ambaſſador at Venice, and aſſiſted Pietro Soave Polano, in compoſing and writing the Council of Trent, was lately dead; and his library being ſold into Little-Britain, I bought amongſt them my choiceſt books of aſtrology. The occaſion of our falling out was thus: a woman demanded the reſolution of a queſtion, which when he had done, ſhe went her way; I ſtanding by all the while, and obſerving the figure, aſked him why he gave the judgment he did, ſince the ſignification ſhewed quite the contrary, and gave him my reaſons; which when he had pondered, he called me boy, and muſt he be contradicted by ſuch a novice! But when his heat was over, he ſaid, had he not ſo judged to pleaſe the woman, ſhe would have given him nothing, and he had a wife and family to provide for; upon this we never came together after. Being now very meanly introduced, I applied myſelf to ſtudy thoſe books I had obtained, many times twelve, or fifteen, or eighteen hours day and night; I was curious to diſcover, whether there was any verity in the art or not. Aſtrology in this time, *viz.* in 1633, was very rare in London, few profeſſing

it

it that underſtood any thing thereof. Let it not repent you (O noble Eſquire) if now I make a ſhort digreſſion of ſuch perſons as then profeſſed aſtrology, that poſterity may underſtand in what condition I found it, and in whoſe hands that little that remained was lodged.

There lived then in Houndſditch one Alexander Hart, who had been a ſoldier formerly, a comely old man, of good aſpect; he profeſſed queſtionary aſtrology, and a little of phyſick; his greateſt ſkill was to elect young gentlemen fit times to play at dice, that they might win or get money. I went unto him for reſolutions for three queſtions at ſeveral times, and he erred in every one. To ſpeak ſoberly of him, he was but a cheat, as appeared ſuddenly after; for a ruſtical fellow of the city, deſirous of knowledge, contracted with Hart to aſſiſt for a conference with a ſpirit, and paid him twenty pounds of thirty pounds the contract. At laſt, after many delays, and no ſpirit appearing, or money returned, the young man indicts him for a cheat at the Old-Bailey in London; the Jury found the bill, and at the hearing of the cauſe this jeſt happened: ſome of the bench enquired what Hart did? 'He ſat like an Alderman 'in his gown,' quoth the fellow; at which

the court fell into a great laughter, moſt of the court being Aldermen. He was to have been ſet upon the pillory for this cheat; but John Taylour, the Water Poet, being his great friend, got the Lord Chief Juſtice Richardſon to bail him, ere he ſtood upon the pillory, and ſo Hart fled preſently into Holland, where he ended his days. It was my fortune, upon the ſale of his books in 1634, to buy Argoll's Primum Mobile for fourteen ſhillings, which I only wanted.

In Lambeth Marſh at the ſame time lived one Captain Bubb, who reſolved horary queſtions aſtrologically; a proper handſome man, well ſpoken, but withal covetous, and of no honeſty, as will appear by this ſtory, for which he ſtood upon the pillory. A certain butcher was robbed, going to a fair, of forty pounds; he goes to Bubb, who for ten pounds in hand paid, would help him to the thief; appoints the butcher ſuch a night preciſely, to watch at ſuch a place, and the thief ſhould come thither; commanded him by any means to ſtop him; the butcher attends according to direction. About twelve in the night there comes one riding very fiercely upon a full gallop, whom the butcher knocks down, and ſeized both upon man and horſe:

The

The butcher brings the man and horſe to the next town, but then the perſon whom the butcher attacked was John, the ſervant of Dr. Bubb; for which the Captain was indicted and ſuffered upon the pillory, and afterwards ended his days in great diſgrace.

There was alſo one Jeffry Neve, at this time a ſtudent in phyſick and aſtrology; he had formerly been a merchant in Yarmouth, and Mayor of the town, but failing in eſtate, went into the Low-Countries, and at Franecker took the degree of Doctor in Phyſick; he had ſome little ſmattering in aſtrology; could reſolve a queſtion of theft, or love-queſtion, ſomething of ſickneſs; a very grave perſon, laborious and honeſt, of tall ſtature and comely feature; he died of late years, almoſt in the very ſtreet near Tower-Hill: He had a deſign of printing two hundred verified queſtions, and deſired my approbation ere they went to the preſs; that I firſt would ſee them, and then give teſtimony. When I had peruſed the firſt forty, I corrected thirty of them, would read over no more: I ſhewed him how erroneous they were, deſired his emendation of the reſt, which he performed not. Theſe were afterwards, in R. Saunders's cuſtody, bought

by him either of his ſon or of a ſtationer: (*a*)

There was then William Poole, a nibler at aſtrology, ſometimes a gardener, an apparitor, a drawer of linen; as quoifs, handkerchiefs; a plaiſterer and a bricklayer; he would brag many times he had been of ſeventeen profeſſions; was very good company for drolling, as you yourſelf very well remember (moſt honoured Sir); (*b*) he pretended to poetry; and that poſterity may have a taſte of it, you ſhall here have inſerted two verſes of his own making; the occaſion of making them was thus. One Sir Thomas Jay, a Juſtice of the Peace in Roſemary-Lane, iſſued out his warrant for the apprehenſion of Poole, upon a pretended ſuggeſtion, that he was in company with ſome lewd people in a Tavern, where a ſilver cup was loſt, Anglice ſtolen. Poole hearing of the warrant, packs up his little trunk of books, being all his library, and runs to Weſtminſter; but hearing ſome months after that the Juſtice was dead and buried, he came and enquired

(*a*) But firſt offered to be ſold to me for twenty ſhillings. When Mr. Saunders died I bought them of his ſon for leſs.—*E. A*——.

(*b*) 17 December this William Poole was married to Alice How, at St. George's Church in Southwark. Mr. Lilly gave her to him.

where

where the grave was; and after the diſcharge of his belly upon the grave, left theſe two verſes upon it, which he ſwore he made himſelf.

Here lieth buried Sir Thomas Jay, Knight,
Who being dead, I upon his grave did ſhite.

He died about 1651, or 1652, at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark; and this was part of his laſt will.

'Item; I give to Dr. Ardee all my books, 'and one manuſcript of my own, worth 'one hundred of Lilly's Introduction.'

'Item; If Dr. Ardee give my wife any 'thing that is mine, I wiſh the devil may 'fetch him body and ſoul.' The Doctor, terrified with this curſe, gave me all the books and his goods, which I preſently gave to his widow.—*Interdum ſeria jocis.*

Now alſo lived this Dr. Ardee, but his true name was Richard Delahay, formerly an Attorney; he ſtudied aſtrology and phyſick, being in neceſſity, and forced from Derbyſhire, where he had lived, by the old Counteſs of Shrewſbury; he was of moderate judgment, both in aſtrology and phyſick. He had formerly been well acquainted with Charles Sledd, (*a*)

(*a*) Of this Charles Sledd, there is mention made in Dr. Dee's book of his diſcourſe with ſpirits, ſet forth by Dr. Cauſabon, page 17.

an apothecary, who uſed the cryſtal, and had a very perfect ſight. This Dr. Ardee hath many times affirmed unto me, (*eſto fides*) that an angel, one time, appeared unto him, and offered him a leaſe of his life for one thouſand years: he died about the age of fourſcore years; left his widow, who married into Kent, (*a*) worth two or three thouſand pounds, and William Poole's eſtate came to four or five pounds.

In the years 1632, and 1633, John Booker became famous for a prediction of his upon a ſolar eclipſe in the 19th degree of Aries 1663, taken out of Leovitius de magnis conjunctionibus, *viz. Ob Reges & Principes, &c.* Both the King of Bohemia, and Guſtavus King of Sweden, dying during the effects of that eclipſe.

John Booker was born in Mancheſter, of good parentage, in the year 1601; was in his youth well inſtructed in the Latin tongue, which he underſtood very well: He ſeemed from his infancy to be deſigned for aſtrology; for from the time he had any underſtanding, he would be always poring on, and ſtudying almanacks. He came to London at fitting years, and ſerved an apprenticeſhip to an haber-

(*a*) To one Moreland.

daſher

daſher in Laurence-Lane, London; but either wanting ſtock to ſet up, diſliking the calling, he left his trade, and taught to write at Hadley in Middleſex ſeveral ſcholars in that ſchool: He wrote ſingularly well both Secretary and Roman. In proceſs of time he ſerved Sir Chriſtopher Clethero, Knight, Alderman of London, as his clerk, being a city Juſtice of Peace: He alſo was clerk to Sir Hugh Hammerſley, Alderman of London, both which he ſerved with great credit and eſtimation; and by that means became not only well known, but as well reſpected of the moſt eminent citizens of London, even to his dying day.

He was an excellent proficient in aſtrology, whoſe excellent verſes upon the twelve months, framed according to the configurations of each month, being bleſſed with ſucceſs according to his predictions, procured him much reputation all over England: He was a very honeſt man, abhorred any deceit in the art he ſtudied; had a curious fancy in judging of thefts, and as ſucceſsful in reſolving love-queſtions: He was no mean proficient in aſtronomy; he underſtood much in phyſick; was a great admirer of the antimonial cup; not unlearned in chymiſtry, which he loved well, but did not practiſe. He was inclined to a diabetes;

and

and in the laſt three years of his life was afflicted with a dyſentery, which at laſt conſumed him to nothing: He died of good fame in 1667. Since his deceaſe I have ſeen one nativity of his performance exactly directed, and judged with as much learning as from aſtrology can be expected.

His library of books came ſhort of the world's approbation, and were by his widow ſold to Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; who moſt generouſly gave her (*a*) far more money than they were worth; but out of his reſpects unto the deceaſed and his memory, he moſt willingly paid her the money. He left behind him two ſons and two daughters. He left in writing very little but his annual prognoſtications. He began firſt to write about the year 1630; he wrote Bellum Hibernicale, in the time of the long parliament, a very ſober and judicious book: the epiſtle thereunto I gave him. He wrote lately a ſmall treatiſe of Eaſter-Day, a very learned thing, wherein he ſhewed much learning and reading. To ſay no more of him, he lived an honeſt man, his fame not queſtioned at his death.

In this year 1633, I became acquainted with Nicholas Fiſke, licentiate in phyſick,

(*a*) They coſt me 140 pounds.

who

who was born in Suffolk, near Framingham (*b*) Caſtle, of very good parentage, who educated him at country ſchools, until he was fit for the univerſity; but he went not to the academy, ſtudying at home both aſtrology and phyſick, which he afterwards practiſed in Colcheſter; and there was well acquainted with Dr. Gilbert, who wrote De Magnete. He came afterwards unto London, and exerciſed his faculty in ſeveral places thereof. (For in his youth he would never ſtay long in one houſe.) In 1633 he was ſent for out of Suffolk by Dr. Winſton of Greſham College, to inſtruct the Lord Treaſurer Weſton's ſon in arithmetick, aſtronomy upon the globes, and their uſes. He was a perſon very ſtudious, laborious, of good apprehenſion, and had by his own induſtry obtained both in aſtrology, phyſick, arithmetick, aſtronomy, geometry and algebra, ſingular judgment: He would in aſtrology reſolve horary queſtions very ſoundly; but was ever diffident of his own abilities: He was exquiſitely ſkilful in the art of directions upon nativities, and had a good genius in performing judgment thereupon, but very unhappy he was, that he had

(*b*) There is no ſuch place in Suffolk, it being miſtaken for Framlingham in that county.

no

no genius in teaching his ſcholars, for he never perfected any: his own ſon Matthew hath often told me, that where his father did teach any ſcholars in his time, they would principally learn of him; he had Scorpio aſcending, and was ſecretly envious to thoſe he thought had more parts than himſelf; however, I muſt be ingenuous, and do affirm, that by frequent converſation with him, I came to know which were the beſt authors, and much to enlarge my judgment, eſpecially in the art of directions: He viſited me moſt days once after I became acquainted with him, and would communicate his moſt doubtful queſtions unto me, and accept of my judgment therein rather than his own: He ſingularly well judged and directed Sir Robert Holborn's nativity, but deſired me to adjudge the firſt houſe, ſeventh and tenth thereof, which I did, and which nativity (ſince Sir Robert gave it me) came to your hands, and remains in your library; [oh learned Eſquire] he died about the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, poor.

In this year alſo William Bredon, parſon or vicar of Thornton in Buckinghamſhire, was living, a profound divine, but abſolutely the moſt polite perſon for nativities in that age, ſtrictly adhering to Ptolomy, which he well underſtood; he had

had a hand in compoſing Sir Chriſtopher Heydon's defence of judicial aſtrology, being that time his chaplain; he was ſo given over to tobacco and drink, that when he had no tobacco, he would cut the bell-ropes and ſmoke them.

I come now to continue the ſtory of my own life, but thought it not inconvenient to commit unto memory ſomething concerning thoſe perſons who practiſed when firſt I became a ſtudent in aſtrology; I have wrote nothing concerning any of them, which I myſelf do not either know, or believe to be true.

In October 1633 my firſt wife died, and left me whatever was hers: it was conſiderable, very near to the value of one thouſand pounds.

One whole year and more I continued a widower, and followed my ſtudies very hard; during which time a ſcholar pawned unto me, for forty ſhillings, Ars Notoria, (*a*) a large volume wrote in parchment, with the names of thoſe angels, and their pictures, which are thought and believed by wiſe men, to teach and inſtruct in all the ſeveral liberal ſciences, and is attained by obſerving elected times,

(*a*) Among Dr. Napier's MSS. I had an Ars Notoria, written by S. Forman in large vellum.

and

and thoſe prayers appropriated unto the ſeveral angels.

I do ingenuouſly acknowledge, I uſed thoſe prayers according to the form and direction preſcribed for ſome weeks, uſing the word aſtrologia for aſtronomia; but of this no more: That Ars Notoria, inſerted in the latter end of Cornelius Agrippa ſignifieth nothing; many of the prayers being not the ſame, nor is the direction to theſe prayers any thing conſiderable.

In the year 1634, I taught Sir George Peckham, Knight, aſtrology, that part which concerns ſickneſs, wherein he ſo profited, that in two or three months he would give a very true diſcovery of any diſeaſe, only by his figures: He practiſed in Nottingham, but unfortunately died in 1635, at St. Winifred's Well in Wales; in which well he continued ſo long mumbling his *Pater Noſters* and *Sancta Winifrida ora pro me*, that the cold ſtruck into his body; and, after his coming forth of that well, never ſpoke more.

In this year 1634, I purchaſed the moiety of thirteen houſes in the Strand for five hundred and thirty pounds.

In November, the 18th day, I was again the ſecond time married, and had five hundred pounds portion with that wife; ſhe was of the nature of Mars.

Two

Two accidents happened to me in that year ſomething memorable.

Davy Ramſey, his Majeſty's clock-maker, had been informed, that there was a great quantity of treaſure buried in the cloyſter of Weſtminſter-Abbey; he acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was alſo then Biſhop of Lincoln; the Dean gave him liberty to ſearch after it, with this proviſo, that if any was diſcovered, his church ſhould have a ſhare of it. Davy Ramſey finds out one John Scott, (*a*) who pretended the uſe of the Moſaical rods, to aſſiſt him herein: I was deſired to join with him, unto which I conſented. One winter's night Davy Ramſey, with ſeveral gentlemen, myſelf, and Scott, entered the cloyſters; we played the hazel-rod round about the cloyſter; upon the weſt-ſide of the cloyſters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treaſure was there: The labourers digged at leaſt ſix foot deep, and then we met with a coffin; but in regard it was not heavy, we did not open, which we afterwards much repented: From the cloyſters we went into the Abbey church, where, upon a ſudden, (there being no wind when we

(*a*) This Scott lived in Pudding-Lane, and had ſome time been a page (or ſuch like) to the Lord Norris.

began)

began) ſo fierce, ſo high, ſo bluſtering and loud a wind did riſe, that we verily believed the weſt-end of the church would have fallen upon us; our rods would not move at all; the candles and torches, all but one, were extinguiſhed, or burned very dimly: (*a*) John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave directions and command to diſmiſs the Dæmons; which when done, all was quiet again, and each man returned unto his lodging late, about twelve o'clock at night; I could never ſince be induced to join with any in ſuch-like actions.

The true miſcarriage of the buſineſs, was by reaſon of ſo many people being preſent at the operation; for there was above thirty, ſome laughing, others deriding us; ſo that if we had not diſmiſſed the Dæmons, I believe moſt part of the Abbey church had been blown down; ſecrecy and intelligent operators, with a ſtrong confidence and knowledge of what they are doing, are beſt for this work.

In 1634, or 1635, a Lady living in Greenwich, who had tried all the known artiſts in London, but to no purpoſe, came weeping and lamenting her con-

(*a*) Davy Ramſey brought an half quartern ſack to put the treaſure in.

dition, which was this: She had permitted a young Lord to have the uſe of her body, till ſhe was with child by him; after which time he could not or would not endure her ſight, but commanded his lacquies and ſervants to keep his doors faſt ſhut, leſt ſhe ſhould get into his chamber; or if they chanced to ſee her near his lodging, to drive her away, which they ſeveral times had done. Her deſire unto me was to aſſiſt her to ſee him, and then ſhe ſhould be content; whereupon I ordered ſuch a day, ſuch an hour of that day, to try her fortune once more. She obeyed; and when ſhe came to the King's Bench, where the Lord there was impriſoned, the outward door ſtood wide open: none ſpeaking a word unto her, ſhe went up ſtairs, no body moleſting her; ſhe found the Lord's chamber door wide open: he in bed, not a ſervant to be heard or ſeen, ſo ſhe was pleaſed. Three days after ſhe came to acquaint me with her ſucceſs, and then drew out of her pocket a paper full of ratſbane, which, had ſhe not had admiſſion unto him that day I appointed, ſhe would in a pint of white wine have drank at the ſtair's foot where the Lord lodged. The like miſfortune befell her after that; when the Lord was out of the priſon: then I ordered her ſuch a day to go and ſee a play

at Saliſbury-Court; which ſhe did, and within one quarter of an hour the Lord came into the ſame box wherein ſhe was. But I grew weary of ſuch employments, and ſince have burned my books which inſtructed theſe curioſities: For after that I became melancholly, very much afflicted with the hypocondraick melancholly, growing lean and ſpare, and every day worſe; ſo that in the year 1635 my infirmity continuing, and my acquaintance increaſing, I reſolved to live in the country, and in March and April 1636 removed my goods unto Herſham, where I now live; and in May my perſon, where I continued until 1641, no notice being taken who, or what I was.

In the years 1637 and 1638, I had great lawſuits both in the Exchequer and Chancery, about a leaſe I had of the annual value of eighty pounds: I got the victory.

In the year 1640 I inſtructed John Humphreys, maſter of that art, in the ſtudy of aſtrology: upon this occaſion, being at London, by accident in Fleet-Street, I met Dr. Percival Willoughby of Derby; we were of old acquaintance, and he but by great chance lately come to town, we went to the Mitre-Tavern in Fleet-Street, where I ſent for old Will Poole the aſtrologer, living then in Ram-Alley:

Alley: being come to us, the Doctor produced a bill, ſet forth by a maſter of arts in Cambridge, intimating his abilities for reſolving of all manner of queſtions aſtrologically: The bill was ſhewed, and I wondering at it, Poole made anſwer, he knew the man, and that he was a ſilly fool; 'I' quoth he, 'can do more 'than he; he ſees me every day, he will 'be here by and by;' and indeed he came into our room preſently: Poole had juſt as we came to him ſet a figure, and then ſhewed it me, deſiring my judgment; which I refuſed, but deſired the maſter of arts to judge firſt; he denied, ſo I gave mine, to the very great liking of Humphreys, who preſently enquired, if I would teach him, and for what? I told him I was willing to teach, but would have one hundred pounds. I heard Poole, whilſt I was judging the figure, whiſper in Humphreys's ear, and ſwear I was the beſt in England. Staying three or four days in town, at laſt we contracted for forty pounds, for I could never be quiet from his ſolicitations; he invited me to ſupper, and before I had ſhewed him any thing, paid me thirty five pounds. As we were at ſupper a client came to ſpeak with him, and ſo up into his cloſet he went with his client; I called him in before he ſet his figure, or reſolved

the queſtion, and inſtantly acquainted him how he ſhould diſcover the moles or marks of his client: he ſet his figure, and preſently diſcovers four moles the querent had; and was ſo overjoyed therewith, that he came tumbling down the ſtairs, crying, 'Four by G—, four by 'G—, I will not take one hundred pounds 'for this one rule:' In ſix weeks time, and tarrying with him three days in a week, he became a moſt judicious perſon.

This Humphreys was a laborious perſon, vain-glorious, loquacious, fool-hardy, deſirous of all ſecrets which he knew not, inſomuch that he would have given me two hundred pounds to have inſtructed him in ſome curioſities he was perſuaded I had knowledge of, but, *Artis eſt celare artem*, eſpecially to thoſe who live not in the fear of God, or can be maſters of their own counſels: He was in perſon and condition ſuch another as that monſter of ingratitude my *quondam* taylor, John Gadbury. After my refuſal of teaching him, what he was not capable of, we grew ſtrange, though I afforded him many civilities whenever he required it; for after the ſiege of Colcheſter he wrote a book againſt me, called Anti Merlinus-Anglicus, married a ſecond wife, his firſt living in Cambridgeſhire, then practiſed phyſick by a contrary name, having

having intentions to practiſe in Ireland-
he went to Briſtol, but there underſtand;
ing the parliament's forces had reduced
that kingdom, he came back to London,
but durſt not abide therein; but running
from his ſecond wife, who alſo had ano-
ther huſband, he went to ſea, with in-
tention for Barbadoes, but died by the
way in his voyage. I had never ſeen
John Booker at that time; but telling
him one day I had a deſire to ſee him,
but firſt, ere I would ſpeak with him, I
would fit myſelf with my old rules, and
rub up my aſtrology; for at that time
[and this was 1640] I thought John
Booker the greateſt and moſt compleat aſtro-
loger in the world. My ſcholar Hum-
phreys preſently made anſwer, 'Tutor, you
'need not pump for any of your former
'knowledge, John Booker is no ſuch
'pumper; we met,' ſaith he, 'the other
'day, and I was too hard for him myſelf,
'upon judgment of three or four queſ-
'tions.' If all the tranſactions happen-
ing unto that my ſcholar were in one
volume, they would tranſcend either Guz-
man, Don Quixote, Lazarillo de Tor-
mes, or any other of the like nature I
ever did ſee.

Having now in part recovered my
health, being weary of the country, and
perceiving there was money to be got in

London, and thinking myſelf to be as ſufficiently enabled in aſtrology as any I could meet with, I made it my buſineſs to repair thither; and ſo in September 1641 I did; where, in the years 1642 and 1643, I had great leiſure to better my former knowledge: I then read over all my books of aſtrology, over and over; had very little or no practice at all: And whereas formerly I could never endure to read Valentine Naibod's Commentary upon Alcabitius, now having ſeriouſly ſtudied him, I found him to be the profoundeſt author I ever met with; him I traverſed over day and night, from whom I muſt acknowledge to have advanced my judgment and knowledge unto that height I ſoon after arrived at, or unto: A moſt rational author, and the ſharpeſt expoſitor of Ptolomy that hath yet appeared. To exerciſe my genius, I began to collect notes, and thought of writing ſome little thing upon the ☌ of ♄ and ♃ then approaching: I had not wrote above one ſheet, and that very meanly, but James Lord Galloway came to ſee me; and, by chance, caſting his eyes upon that rude collection, he read it over, and ſo approved of it, yea, ſo encouraged me to proceed farther, that then, and after that time, I ſpent moſt of my time in compoſing thereof,

thereof, and bringing it, in the end, into that method wherein it was printed 1644. I do ſeriouſly now profeſs, I had not the aſſiſtance of any perſon living, in the writing or compoſing thereof. Mr. Fiſke ſent me a ſmall manuſcript which had been Sir Chriſtopher Heydon's, who had wrote ſomething of the conjuction of ♄ and ♃, 1603; out of which, to bring my method in order, I tranſcribed, in the beginning, five or ſix lines, and not any more, though that graceleſs fellow Gadbury wrote the contrary; but, *Semel & ſemper nebulo & mendax.* I did formerly write one treatiſe, in the year 1639, upon the eclipſe of the ſun, in the 11th degree of Gemini, 22 May 1639: It conſiſted of ſix ſheets of paper. But that manuſcript I gave unto my moſt munificent patron, and ever bountiful friend William Pennington, of Muncaſter in Cumberland, Eſq; a wiſe and excellently learned perſon; who, from the year 1634, even till he died, continued unto me the moſt grateful perſon I ever was acquainted with. I became acquainted with him by means of Davy Ramſey.

Oh! moſt noble Eſquire, let me now beg your pardon, if I digreſs for ſome ſmall time, in commemorating his bounty unto me, and my requital of his

friendſhip, by performing many things ſucceſsfully for his advantage.

In 1639 he was made captain, and ſerved His Majeſty in his then wars againſt the Scots; during which time a farmer's daughter being delivered of a baſtard, and hearing, by report, that he was ſlain, fathered the child upon him. Shortly after he returned, moſt woefully vexed to be thus abuſed, when abſent. The woman was countenanced by ſome gentlemen of Cumberland, in this her villany againſt him; ſo that, notwithſtanding he had warrants to attach her body, he could never diſcover her: But yet, hunting her from one place to another, her friends thought it moſt convenient to ſend her to London, where ſhe might be in moſt ſafety. She came up to the city, and immediately I had notice thereof, and the care of that matter left unto me. I procured the Lord Chief Juſtice Bramſton's warrant, and had it lying dormant by me. She had not been in the city above one fortnight, but that I, going caſually to the clerk of the aſſizes office for Cumberland, ſaw there an handſome woman; and hearing of her ſpeak the northern tone, I concluded ſhe was the party I did ſo want. I rounded the clerk in his ear, and told him I would give him five ſhillings to

hold

hold the woman in chat till I came again, for I had a writing concerned her. I haſted for my warrant, and a conſtable, and returned into the office, ſeized her perſon before the clerk of the aſſizes, who was very angry with me: It was then ſeſſions at Old-Bayley, and neither Judge nor Juſtice to be found. At night we carried her before the Recorder, Gardner. It being Saturday at night, ſhe, having no bail, was ſent to Bridewell, where ſhe remained till Monday. On Monday morning, at the Old-Bayley, ſhe produced bail, but I deſiring of the Recorder ſome time to enquire after the bail, whether they were ſufficient, returned preſently, and told him one of the bail was a priſoner in Ludgate, the other a very poor man: At which he was ſo vexed, that he ſent her to Newgate, where ſhe lay all that week, until ſhe could pleaſe me with good ſureties; which then ſhe did, and ſo was bound over to appear at the next aſſizes in Cumberland, which ſhe did, and was there ſentenced to be whipped, and impriſoned one whole year.

This action infinitely pleaſed Mr. Pennington, who thought I could do wonders; and I was moſt thankfully requited for it. All the while of this ſcandalous buſineſs, do what he could, he could not

diſcover

diſcover what perſons they were that ſupported her; but the woman's father coming to town, I became acquainted with him, by the name of Mr. Sute, merchant; invited him to a dinner; got George Farmer with me; when we ſo plied him with wine, he could neither ſee or feel. I paid the reckoning, being twenty two ſhillings. But next morning the poor man had never a writing or letter in his pocket. I ſent them down to my friend, who thereby diſcovered the plots of ſeveral gentlemen in the buſineſs; after which, Mr. Sute returned to his old name again.

Mr. Pennington was a true royaliſt, whom Charles the Second made one of his Commiſſioners of Array for Cumberland. Having directions from me continually how matters did and would go betwixt the King and Parliament, he acted warily, and did but ſign one only warrant of that nature, and then gave over. When the times of ſequeſtrations came, one John Muſgrave, the moſt bold and impudent fellow, and moſt active of all the north of England, and moſt malicious againſt my friend, had got this warrant under Mr. Pennington's hand into his cuſtody; which affrighted my friend, and ſo it might, for it was cauſe enough of ſequeſtration, and would have done

done it. Muſgrave intending and promiſing himſelf great matters out of his eſtate, I was made acquainted herewith. Muſgrave being in London, by much ado, I got acquainted with him, pretending myſelf a bitter enemy againſt Pennington, whereat he very heartily rejoiced; and ſo we appointed one night to meet at the Five Bells, to compare notes; for I pretended much. We did meet, and he very ſuddenly produced upon the table all his papers, and withal, the warrant of array unto which my friend had ſet his hand; which when I ſaw, 'I marry,' ſaid I, 'this is his hand I will 'ſwear; now have at all; come, the other 'cup, this warrant ſhall pay for all.' I obſerved where the warrant lay upon the table, and, after ſome time took occaſion ignorantly to let the candle fall out, which whilſt he went to light again at the fire, I made ſure of the warrant, and put it into my boot; he never miſſing it of eight or ten days; about which time, I believe, it was above half way towards Cumberland, for I inſtantly ſent it by the poſt, with this friendly caveat, 'Sir no 'more.' Muſgrave durſt not challenge me in thoſe times, and ſo the buſineſs was ended very ſatisfactory to his friend, and no leſs to myſelf.

He

He was, beſides, extreamly abuſed by one Iſaac Antrobus, parſon of Egremond, a moſt evil liver, bold, and very rich; at laſt he procured a miniſter of that country, in hope of the parſonage, to article againſt him in London, before the committee of plundered miniſters. I was once more invited to ſollicit againſt Antrobus, which I did upon three or more articles.

I. That Antrobus baptized a cock, and called him Peter.

II. He had knowledge of ſuch a woman and of her daughter, *viz.* of both their bodies, in as large a manner as ever of his own wife.

III. Being drunk, a woman took a cord and tied it about his privy members unto a manger in a ſtable.

IV. Being a continual drunkard.

V. He never preached, &c.

Antrobus was now become a great champion for the Parliament; but, at the day of hearing, I had procured abundance of my friends to be there; for the godly, as they termed themſelves, ſided with him; the preſent Maſter of the Rolls was Chairman that day, Sir Harbottle Grimſton.

Who

Who hearing the foulneſs of the cauſe, was very much aſhamed thereof. I remember Antrobus, being there, pleaded he was in his natural condition when he acted ſo ungraciouſly.

'What condition were you in,' ſaid the Chairman, 'when you lay with mo-'ther and daughter?'

'There is no proof of that,' ſaith he.

'None but your own confeſſion,' ſaid the Chairman, 'nor could any tell ſo 'well.'

'I am not given to drunkenneſs,' quoth he. 'He was ſo drunk within this fort-'night' quoth I, 'he reeled from one 'ſide of the ſtreet to the other; here is 'the witneſs to prove it:' who preſently, before the committee, being ſworn, made it good, and named the place and ſtreet where he was drunk. So he was adjudged ſcandalous, and outed of his benefice, and our miniſter had the parſonage.

You cannot imagine how much the routing of this drunken parſon pleaſed Mr. Pennington, who paid all charges munificently and thankfully.

But now follows the laſt and greateſt kindneſs I ever did him. Notwithſtanding the committee for ſequeſtrations in Cumberland were his very good friends, yet the ſub-ſequeſtrators, of their own heads, and

and without order, and by ſtrength of arms, ſecured his iron, his wood, and ſo much of his perſonal eſtate as was valued at ſeven thouſand pounds. Now had I complaint upon complaint: would I ſuffer my old friend to be thus abuſed? it was in my power to free him from theſe villains.

I hereupon adviſed what was beſt to do, and was counſelled to get Mr. Speaker Lenthall's letter to the ſub-ſequeſtrators, and command them to be obedient to the committee of the county.

Whereupon, I framed a letter myſelf, unto the ſub-ſequeſtrators directed, and with it, myſelf and Mr. Laurence Maydwell (whom yourſelf well knew) went to Mr. Speaker, unto whom we ſufficiently related the ſtubbornneſs of the officers of Cumberland; their diſobedience to the committee; and then ſhewed him the letter, which when he had read over, he moſt courteouſly ſigned, adding withal, that if they proceeded further in ſequeſtring Mr. Pennington, he would command a Serjeant at Arms to bring them up to anſwer their contempts: I immediately poſted that letter to my friend, which when the abſurd fellows received, they delivered him poſſeſſion of his goods again; and, for my pains, when he came to London, gave me one hundred

hundred pounds: He died in 1652, of a violent fever. I did carefully, in 1642 and 1643, take notice of every grand action which happened betwixt King and Parliament, and did first then incline to believe, that as all ſublunary affairs did depend upon ſuperior cauſes, ſo there was a poſſibility of diſcovering them by the configurations of the ſuperior bodies; in which way making ſome eſſays in thoſe two years, I found encouragement to proceed further, which I did; I peruſed the writings of the ancients, but therein they were ſilent, or gave no ſatisfaction; at laſt, I framed unto myſelf that method, which then and ſince I follow, which, I hope, in time may be more perfected by a more penetrating perſon than myſelf.

In 1643, I became familiarly known to Sir Bulſtrode Whitlocke, a member of the Houſe of Commons; he being ſick, his urine was brought unto me by Mrs. Liſle, (*a*) wife to John Liſle, afterwards one of the keepers of the Great Seal;

(*a*) She was afterwards beheaded at Wincheſter, for harbouring one Nelthrop, a rebel in the Duke of Monmouth's army 1685. She had made herſelf remarkable, by ſaying at the martyrdom of King Charles I. 1648, 'that her blood leaped within her to ſee the 'tyrant fall;' for this, when ſhe fell into the ſtate trap, ſhe neither did nor could expect favour from any of that martyr's family. D. N.

having

having ſet my figure, I returned anſwer, the ſick for that time would recover, but by means of a ſurfeit would dangerouſly relapſe within one month; which he did, by eating of trouts at Mr. Sand's houſe, near Leatherhead in Surrey. Then I went daily to viſit him, Dr. Prideau deſpairing of his life; but I ſaid there was no danger thereof, and that he would be ſufficiently well in five or ſix weeks; and ſo he was.

In 1644, I publiſhed Merlinus Anglicus Junior about April. I had given one day the copy thereof unto the then Mr. Whitlocke, who by accident was reading thereof in the Houſe of Commons: ere the Speaker took the chair, one looked upon it, and ſo did many, and got copies thereof; which when I heard, I applied myſelf to John Booker to licenſe it, for then he was licenſer of all mathematical books; I had, to my knowledge, never ſeen him before; he wondered at the book, made many impertinent obliterations, framed many objections, ſwore it was not poſſible to diſtinguiſh betwixt King and Parliament; at laſt licenſed it according to his own fancy; I delivered it unto the printer, who being an arch Preſbyterian, had five of the miniſtry to inſpect it, who could make nothing of it, but ſaid it might be printed, for in that I meddled

not with their Dagon. The firſt impreſſion was ſold in leſs than one week; when I preſented ſome to the members of Parliament, I complained of John Booker the licenſer, who had defaced my book; they gave me order forthwith to reprint it as I would, and let them know if any durſt reſiſt me in the reprinting, or adding what I thought fit; ſo the ſecond time it came forth as I would have it.

I muſt confeſs, I now found my ſcholar Humphreys's words to be true concerning John Booker, whom at that time I found but moderately verſed in aſtrology; nor could he take the circles of poſition of the planets, until in that year I inſtructed him. After my Introduction in 1647 became publick, he amended beyond meaſure, by ſtudy partly, and partly upon emulation to keep up his fame and reputation; ſo that ſince 1647, I have ſeen ſome nativities by him very judiciouſly performed. When the printer preſented him with an Introduction of mine, as ſoon as they were forth of the preſs; 'I wiſh,' ſaith he, 'there was ne-'ver another but this in England, con-'ditionally I gave one hundred pounds 'for this.' After that time we were very great friends to his dying day.

In June 1644, I publiſhed Supernatural Sight; and, indeed, if I could have procured the dull ſtationer to have been at charges to have cut the icon or form of that prodigious apparition, as I had drawn it forth, it would have given great ſatisfaction; however, the aſtrological judgment thereupon had its full event in every particular.

That year alſo I publiſhed the White King's Prophecy, of which there were ſold in three days eighteen hundred, ſo that it was oft reprinted: I then made no commentary upon it.

In that year I printed the Prophetical Merlin, and had eight pounds for the copy.

I had then no farther intention to trouble the preſs any more, but Sir Richard Napper having received one of Captain Wharton's Almanacks for 1645, under the name Naworth, he came unto me: 'Now, Lilly, you are met withal, ſee 'here what Naworth writes.' The words were, he called me 'an impudent ſenſe-'leſs fellow, and by name William Lilly.'

Before that time, I was more Cavalier than Roundhead, and ſo taken notice of; but after that I engaged body and ſoul in the cauſe of Parliament, but ſtill with much affection to his Majeſty's perſon and

and unto monarchy, which I ever loved and approved beyond any government whatſoever; and you will find in this ſtory many paſſages of civility which I did, and endeavoured to do, with the hazard of my life, for his Majeſty: But God had ordered all his affairs and counſels to have no ſucceſſes; as in the ſequel will appear.

To vindicate my reputation, and to cry quittance with Naworth, againſt whom I was highly incenſed, to work I went again for Anglicus 1645; which as ſoon as finiſhed I got to the preſs, thinking every day one month till it was publick: I therein made uſe of the King's nativity, and finding that his aſcendant was approaching to the quadrature of Mars, about June 1645, I gave this unlucky judgment; 'If now we fight, a 'victory ſtealeth upon us;' and ſo it did in June 1645, at Naſeby, the moſt fatal overthrow he ever had.

In this year 1645, I publiſhed a treatiſe call the Starry Meſſenger, with an interpretation of three ſuns ſeen in London 29 May 1644, being Charles the Second's birth-day: In that book I alſo put forth an aſtrological judgment concerning the effects of a ſolar eclipſe, viſible the 11th of Auguſt 1645. Two days before its publiſhing, my antagoniſt,

Captain Wharton, having given his aſtrological judgment upon his Majeſty's preſent march from Oxford; therein again fell foul againſt me and John Booker: Sir Samuel Luke, Governor of Newport-pagnel, had the thing came to his garriſon from Oxford, which preſently was preſented unto my view. I had but twelve hours, or thereabout, to anſwer it, which I did with ſuch ſucceſs as is incredible; and the printer printed both the March and my anſwer unto it, and produced it to ſight, with my Starry Meſſenger, which came forth and was made publick the very day of the Parliament's great victory obtained againſt his Majeſty in perſon at Naſeby, under the conduct of the Lord Thomas Fairfax.

That book no ſooner appeared, but within fourteen days complaint was made to the committee of examinations, Miles Corbet then being Chairman, my mortal enemy, he who after was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for being one of the King's Judges; he grants his warrant, and a meſſenger to the Serjeant at Arms ſeizeth my perſon. As I was going to Weſtminſter with the meſſenger, I met Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Chriſtopher Wray, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Mr. Robert Reynolds, who, by great fortune, had the Starry Meſſenger ſheet by ſheet from me as it came

came from the preſs. They preſently fell a ſmiling at me; 'Miles Corbet, Lilly, 'will puniſh thee ſoundly; but fear no-'thing, we will dine, and make haſte 'to be at the Committee time enough to do 'the buſineſs;' and ſo they moſt honourably performed; for they, as ſoon as they came, ſat down, and put Mr. Reynolds purpoſely into the chair, and I was called in; but Corbet being not there, they bid me withdraw until he came; which when he did, I was commanded to appear, and Corbet deſired to give the cauſe of my being in reſtraint, and of the Committee's order. Mr. Reynolds was purpoſely put into the chair, and continued till my buſineſs was over.

Corbet produced my Anglicus of 1645, and ſaid there were many ſcandalous paſſages therein againſt the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe in London. He produced one paſſage, which being openly read by himſelf, the whole committee adjudged it to ſignify the errors of ſub-officers, but had no relation to the Commiſſioners themſelves, which I affirmatively maintained to be the true meaning as the committee declared.

Then Corbet found out another dangerous place, as he thought, and the words were thus in the printed book— 'In the name of the Father, Son, and

'Holy Ghoſt, will not the Exciſe pay 'the ſoldiers?'

Corbet very ignorantly read, 'will not 'the Eclipſe pay ſoldiers?' at which the Committee fell heartily to laugh at him, and ſo he became ſilent.

There was a great many Parliament men there; the chamber was full. 'Have 'you any more againſt Mr. Lilly?' cried the chairman.

'Yes,' ſaith the Sollicitor for the Exciſe, 'ſince his Starry Meſſenger came 'forth we had our houſe burnt, and the 'Commiſſioners pulled by their cloaks in 'the Exchange.' 'Pray, Sir, when was 'this,' aſked old Sir Robert Pye, 'that 'the houſe was burnt, and the Aldermen 'abuſed?' 'It was in ſuch a week,' ſaith he. 'Mr. Lilly, when came the book 'forth?' 'The very day of Naſeby fight,' anſwered Mr. Reynolds, 'nor needs he 'be aſhamed of writing it: I had it 'daily as it came forth of the preſs: It 'was then found the houſe to be burnt, 'and the Aldermen abuſed, twelve days 'before the Starry Meſſenger came forth.' 'What a lying fellow art thou,' ſaith Sir Robert Pye, 'to abuſe us ſo!' This he ſpoke to the Sollicitor. Then ſtood up one Baſſell, a merchant: he inveighed bitterly againſt me, being a Preſbyterian, and would have had my books burnt.

'You

'You ſmell more of a citizen than a 'ſcholar,' replied Mr. Francis Drake. I was ordered to withdraw, and by and by was called in, and acquainted the Committee did diſcharge me. But I cried with a loud voice, 'I was under a meſ-'ſenger;' whereupon the Committee ordered him or the Serjeant at Arms not to take any fees; Mr. Reynolds ſaying, 'Literate men never pay any fees.'

But within one week after, I was likely to have had worſe ſucceſs, but that the before-named gentlemen ſtoutly befriended me. In my Epiſtle of the Starry Meſſenger, I had been a little too plain with the Committee of Leiceſterſhire; who thereof made complaint unto Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Knight for that county; he was a furious perſon, and made a motion in the Houſe of Commons againſt me, and the buſineſs was committed to that Committee, whereof Baron Rigby was Chairman. A day was aſſigned to hear the matter; in the morning whereof, as I paſſed by Mr. Pullen's ſhop in St. Paul's Church-yard, Pullen bad God be with you, and named me by name. Mr. Selden being there, and hearing my name, gave direction to call me unto him, where he acquaints me with Hazelrigg's humour and malice towards me, called for the Starry Meſſenger, and having

read over the words mentioning that Committee, he aſked me how I would anſwer them? I related what I would have ſaid, but he contradicted me, and acquainted me what to ſay, and how to anſwer. In the afternoon I went to appear, but there was no Committee ſet, or would ſit; for both Mr. Reynolds and Sir Philip Stapleton, and my other friends, had fully acquainted Baron Rigby with the buſineſs, and deſired not to call upon me until they appeared; for the matter and charge intended againſt me was very frivolous, and only preſented by a cholerick perſon to pleaſe a company of clowns, meaning the Committee of Leiceſter. Baron Rigby ſaid, if it were ſo he would not meddle with the matter, but exceedingly deſired to ſee me. Not long after he met Sir Arthur, and acquainting him what friends appeared for me, ſaid, 'I will then proſecute him 'no further.'

All the ancient aſtrologers of England were much ſtartled and confounded at my manner of writing, eſpecially old Mr. William Hodges, who lived near Wolverhampton in Staffordſhire, and many others who underſtood aſtrology competently well, as they thought. Hodges ſwore I did more by aſtrology than he could by the cryſtal, and uſe thereof, which

which indeed he underſtood as perfectly as any one in England. He was a great royaliſt, but could never hit any thing right for that party, though he much deſired it: He reſolved queſtions aſtrologically; nativities he meddled not with; in things of other nature, which required more curioſity, he repaired to the cryſtal: His angels were Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel: his life anſwered not in holineſs and ſanctity to what it ſhould, having to deal with thoſe holy angels. Being contemporary with me, I ſhall relate what my partner John Scott, the ſame Scott as is before-mentioned, affirmed of him. John Scott was a little ſkilful in ſurgery and phyſick, ſo was Will Hodges, and had formerly been a ſchool-maſter. Scott having ſome occaſions into Staffordſhire, addreſſed himſelf for a month or ſix weeks to Hodges, aſſiſted him to dreſs his patients, let blood, &c. Being to return to London, he deſired Hodges to ſhew him the perſon and feature of the woman he ſhould marry. Hodges carries him into a field not far from his houſe, pulls out his cryſtal, bids Scott ſet his foot to his, and, after a while, wiſhes him to inſpect the cryſtal, and obſerve what he ſaw there. 'I ſee,' ſaith Scott, 'a ruddy com-
'plexioned wench in a red waiſtcoat,
'drawing

'drawing a can of beer.' 'She muſt be 'your wife,' ſaid Hodges. 'You are 'miſtaken, Sir,' ſaid Scott. 'I am, ſo 'ſoon as I come to London, to marry a 'tall gentlewoman in the Old-Bailey.' 'You muſt marry the red waiſtcoat,' ſaid Hodges. Scott leaves the country, comes up to London, finds his gentlewoman married: Two years after going into Dover, in his return, he refreſhed himſelf at an inn in Canterbury, and as he came into the hall, or firſt room thereof, he miſtook the room, and went into the buttery, where he eſpied a maid, deſcribed by Hodges, as before ſaid, drawing a can of beer, &c. He then more narrowly viewing her perſon and habit, found her, in all parts, to be the ſame Hodges had deſcribed; after which he became a ſuitor unto her, and was married unto her; which woman I have often ſeen. This Scott related unto me ſeveral times, being a very honeſt perſon, and made great conſcience of what he ſpoke. Another ſtory of him is as followeth, which I had related from a perſon which well knew the truth of it.

A neighbour gentleman of Hodges loſt his horſe; who having Hodges's advice for recovery of him, did again obtain him. Some years after, in a frolick, he thought to abuſe him, acquainting a neighbour

neighbour therewith, *viz.* That he had formerly loſt a horſe, went to Hodges, recovered him again, but ſaith it was by chance; I might have had him without going unto him: 'Come, let's go, I 'will now put a trick upon him; I will 'leave ſome boy or other at the town's-'end with my horſe, and then go to Hodges 'and enquire for him.' He did ſo, gave his horſe to a youth, with orders to walk him till he returned. Away he goes with his friend, ſalutes Mr. Hodges, thanks him for his former courteſy, and now deſires the like, having loſt a horſe very lately. Hodges, after ſome time of pauſing, ſaid; 'Sir, your horſe is loſt, 'and never to be recovered.' 'I thought 'what ſkill you had,' replies the gallant, 'my horſe is walking in a lane at the 'town's-end.' With that Hodges ſwore (as he was too much given unto that vice) 'your horſe is gone, and you will 'never have him again.' The gentleman departed in great deriſion of Hodges, and went where he left his horſe: when he came there, he found the boy faſt aſleep upon the ground, the horſe gone, the boy's arm in the bridle.

He returns again to Hodges, deſiring his aid, being ſorry for his former abuſe. Old Will ſwore like a devil, 'Be gone, be 'gone; go look your horſe.' This buſineſs ended

ended not ſo; for the malicious man brought Hodges into the ſtar-chamber, bound him over to the aſſizes, put Hodges to great expences: but, by means of the Lord Dudley, if I remember aright, or ſome other perſon thereabouts, he overcame the gentleman, and was acquitted.

Beſides this, a gentlewoman of my acquaintance, and of credit, in Leiceſterſhire, having loſt a pillion-cloth, a very new one, went to deſire his judgment. He ordered her ſuch a day to attend at Mountſorrel in Leiceſterſhire, and about twelve o'clock ſhe ſhould ſee her pillion-cloth upon a horſe, and a woman upon it. My friend attended the hour and place; it being told, ſhe muſt needs warm herſelf well, and then enquired if any paſſengers had lately gone by the inn? Unto whom anſwer was made, there paſſed by whilſt ſhe was at the fire, about half an hour before, a man, and a woman behind him, on horſe-back. Inquiring of what colour the pillion-cloth was of; it was anſwered, directly of the colour my friend's was: They purſued, but too late.

In thoſe times, there lived one William Marſh in Dunſtable, a man of godly life and upright converſation, a Recuſant. By aſtrology he reſolved thieviſh queſtions with great ſucceſs; that was his utmoſt ſole

ſole practice. He was many times in trouble; but by Dr. Napper's intereſt with the Earl of Bolingbroke, Lord Wentworth, after Earl of Cleveland, he ſtill continued his practice, the ſaid Earl not permitting any Juſtice of Peace to vex him.

This man had only two books, Guido and Haly bound together: He had ſo mumbled and tumbled the leaves of both, that half one ſide of every leaf was torn even to the middle. I was familiar with him for many years: He died about 1647.

A word or two of Dr. Napper, who lived at Great Lindford in Buckinghamſhire, was parſon, and had the advowſon thereof. He deſcended of worſhipful parents, and this you muſt believe; for when Dr. Napper's brother, Sir Robert Napper, a Turkey merchant, was to be made a Baronet in King James's reign, there was ſome diſpute whether he could prove himſelf a gentleman for three or more deſcents. 'By my ſaul,' ſaith King James, 'I will certify for Napper, that he is of 'above three hundred years ſtanding in 'his family, all of them, by my ſaul, 'gentlemen,' &c. However, their family came into England in King Henry the Eighth's time. The parſon was Maſter of Arts; but whether doctorated by degree or courteſy, becauſe of his profeſſion, I know

know not. Miſcarrying one day in the pulpit, he never after uſed it, but all his life-time kept in his houſe ſome excellent ſcholar or other to officiate for him, with allowance of a good ſalary: He out-went Forman in phyſick and holineſs of life; cured the falling-ſickneſs perfectly by conſtellated rings, ſome diſeaſes by amulets, &c.

A maid was much afflicted with the falling-ſickneſs, whoſe parents applied themſelves unto him for cure: he framed her a conſtellated ring, upon wearing whereof, ſhe recovered perfectly. Her parents acquainted ſome ſcrupulous divines with the cure of their daughter: 'The 'cure is done by inchantment,' ſay they. 'Caſt away the ring, it's diabolical; God 'cannot bleſs you, if you do not caſt the 'ring away.' The ring was caſt into the well, whereupon the maid became epileptical as formerly, and endured much miſery for a long time. At laſt her parents cleanſed the well, and recovered the ring again; the maid wore it, and her fits took her no more. In this condition ſhe was one year or two; which the Puritan miniſters there adjoining hearing, never left off, till they procured her parents to caſt the ring quite away; which done, the fits returned in ſuch violence, that they were enforced to apply

ply to the Doctor again, relating at large the whole ſtory, humbly imploring his once more aſſiſtance; but he could not be procured to do any thing, only ſaid, thoſe who deſpiſed God's mercies, were not capable or worthy of enjoying them.

I was with him in 1632, or 1633, upon occaſion. He had me up into his library, being excellently furniſhed with very choice books: there he prayed almoſt one hour; he invocated ſeveral angels in his prayer, *viz.* (*a*) Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, &c. We parted.

He inſtructed many miniſters in aſtrology, would lend them whole cloak-bags of books; protected them from harm and violence, by means of his power with the Earl of (*b*) Bolingbroke. He would confeſs my maſter Evans knew more than himſelf in ſome things: and ſome time before he died, he got his couſin Sir Richard to ſet a figure to ſee when he ſhould die. Being brought him; 'Well,' he ſaid, 'the old man will live this win-'ter, but in the ſpring he will die; wel-'come Lord Jeſus, thy will be done.'

(*a*) The collect read on Michaelmas day, ſeems to allow of praying to angels. At ſome times, upon great occaſions, he had conference with Michael, but very rarely.

(*b*) Lord Wentworth, after Earl of Cleveland.

He

He had many enemies: Cotta, Doctor of phyſick in Northampton, wrote a ſharp book of witchcraft, wherein, obliquely, he bitterly inveighed againſt the Doctor.

In 1646, I printed a collection of Prophecies, with the explanation and verification of Aquila, or the White King's Prophecy; as alſo the nativities of Biſhop Laud and Thomas Earl of Strafford, and a moſt learned ſpeech by him intended to have been ſpoke upon the ſcaffold. In this year 1646, after a great conſideration, and many importunities, I began to fix upon thoughts of an Introduction unto Aſtrology, which was very much wanting, and as earneſtly longed for by many perſons of quality. ſomething alſo much occaſioned and haſtened the impreſſion, *viz.* the malevolent barking of Preſbyterian miniſters in their weekly ſermons, reviling the profeſſors thereof, and myſelf particularly by name.

Secondly, I thought it a duty incumbent upon me, to ſatisfy the whole kingdom of the lawfulneſs thereof, by framing a plain and eaſy method for any perſon but of indifferent capacity to learn the art, and inſtruct himſelf therein, without any other maſter than my Introduction; by which means, when many underſtood it, I ſhould have more partners

and

and aſſiſtants to contradict all and every antagoniſt.

Thirdly, I found it beſt as unto point of time, becauſe many of the ſoldiers were wholly for it, and many of the Independant party; and I had abundance of worthy men in the Houſe of Commons, my aſſured friends, no lovers of Preſbytery, which then were in great eſteem, and able to protect the art; for ſhould the Preſbyterian party have prevailed, as they thought of nothing leſs than to be Lords of all, I knew well they would have ſilenced my pen annually, and committed the Introduction unto everlaſting ſilence.

Fourthly, I had ſomething of conſcience touched my ſpirit, and much elevated my conceptions, believing God had not beſtowed thoſe abilities upon me, to bury them under a buſhel; for though my education was very mean, yet, by my continual induſtry, and God's great mercy, I found myſelf capable to go forward with the work, and to commit the iſſue thereof unto divine providence.

I had a hard taſk in hand to begin the firſt part hereof, and much labour I underwent to methodize it as it is.

I ingenuouſly confeſs unto you (Arts' great Mecænas, noble Eſquire Aſhmole,) no mortal man had any ſhare in the

compoſition or ordering of the firſt part thereof, but my one only ſelf. You are a perſon of great reading, yet I well know you never found the leaſt trace thereof in any author yet extant.

In compoſing, contriving, ordering, and framing thereof (*viz.* the firſt part) a great part of that year was ſpent. I again peruſed all, or moſt, authors I had, ſometimes adding, at other times diminiſhing, until at laſt I thought it worthy of the preſs. When I came to frame the ſecond part thereof, having formerly collected out of many manuſcripts, and exchanged rules with the moſt able profeſſors I had acquaintance with, in tranſcribing thoſe papers for impreſſion, I found, upon a ſtrict inquiſition, thoſe rules were, for the moſt part, defective; ſo that once more I had now a difficult labour to correct their deficiency, to new rectify them according to art; and laſtly, conſidering the multiplicity of daily queſtions propounded unto me, it was as hard a labour as might be to tranſcribe the papers themſelves with my own hand. The deſire I had to benefit poſterity and my country, at laſt overcame all difficulties; ſo that what I could not do in one year, I perfected early the next year, 1647; and then in that year, *viz.* 1647, I finiſhed

I finiſhed the third book of (*a*) nativities, (*b*) during the compoſing whereof, for ſeven whole weeks, I was ſhut up of the plague, burying in that time two maid-ſervants thereof; yet towards November that year, the Introduction, called by the name of Chriſtian Aſtrology was made publick. There being, in thoſe times, ſome ſmart difference between the army and the Parliament, the head-quarters of the army were at Windſor, whither I was carried with a coach and four horſes, and John Booker with me. We were welcome thither, and feaſted in a garden where General Fairfax lodged. We were brought to the General, who bid us kindly welcome to Windſor; and, in effect, ſaid thus much:

'That God had bleſſed the army with 'many ſignal victories, and yet their work 'was not finiſhed. He hoped God would 'go along with them until his work was 'done. They ſought not themſelves, but 'the welfare and tranquillity of the good 'people, and whole nation; and, for 'that end, were reſolved to ſacrifice both 'their lives and their own fortunes. As

(*a*) The name of the perſon whoſe nativity is directed and judged, is Mr. Thompſon, whoſe father had been ſome time an inn-keeper at the White-hart in Newark.

(*b*) I deviſed the forms and faſhions of the ſeveral ſchemes. E. A.

'for the art we ſtudied, he hoped it was 'lawful and agreeable to God's word: 'He underſtood it not; but doubted not 'but we both feared God; and therefore 'had a good opinion of us both.' Unto his ſpeech I preſently made this reply:

'My Lord, I am glad to ſee you here 'at this time.

'Certainly, both the people of God, 'and all others of this nation, are very 'ſenſible of God's mercy, love, and fa-'vour unto them, in directing the par-'liament to nominate and elect you Ge-'neral of their armies, a perſon ſo religi-'ous, ſo valiant.

'The ſeveral unexpected victories ob-'tained under your Excellency's conduct, 'will eternize the ſame unto all poſte-'rity.

'We are confident of God's going 'along with you and your army, until 'the great work for which he ordained 'you both, is fully perfected; which we 'hope will be the conquering and ſub-'verſion of your's and the Parliament's 'enemies, and then a quiet ſettlement 'and firm peace over all the nation, unto 'God's glory, and full ſatisfaction of ten-'der conſciences.

'Sir, as for ourſelves, we truſt in God; 'and, as chriſtians, believe in him. We 'do not ſtudy any art but what is lawful,

'and

'and conſonant to the ſcriptures, fathers, 'and antiquity; which we humbly deſire 'you to believe,' &c.

This ended, we departed, and went to viſit Mr. Peters the miniſter, who lodged in the caſtle, whom we found reading an idle pamphlet come from London that morning. 'Lilly, thou art herein,' ſays he. 'Are not you there alſo?' I replied. 'Yes, that I am,' quoth he.——The words concerning me, were theſe:

From th' oracles of the Sibyls ſo ſilly,
The curſt predictions of William Lilly,
And Dr. Sybbald's Shoe-lane Philly,
Good Lord, deliver me.

After much conference with Hugh Peters, and ſome private diſcourſe betwixt us two, not to be divulged, we parted, and ſo came back to London.

King Charles the Firſt, in the year 1646, April 27, went unto the Scots, then in this nation. Many deſired my judgment, in time of his abſence, to diſcover the way he might be taken: which I would never be drawn unto, or give any direction concerning his perſon.

There were many lewd Mercuries printed both in London and Oxford, wherein I was ſufficiently abuſed, in this year 1646. I had then my aſcendant *ad* □ ♂, and ☾ *ad proprium*. The Preſbyterians were, in

their pulpits, as mercileſs as the Cavaliers in their pamphlets.

About this time, the moſt famous mathematician of all Europe, (*a*) Mr. William Oughtred, parſon of Aldbury in Surrey, was in danger of ſequeſtration by the Committee of or for plundered miniſters; (Ambo-dexters they were;) ſeveral inconſiderable articles were depoſed and ſworn againſt him, material enough to have ſequeſtered him, but that, upon his day of hearing, I applied myſelf to Sir Bolſtrode Whitlock, and all my own old friends, who in ſuch numbers appeared in his behalf, that though the chairman and many other Preſbyterian members were ſtiff againſt him, yet he was cleared by the major number. The truth is, he had a conſiderable parſonage, and that only was enough to ſequeſter any moderate judgment: He was alſo well known to affect his Majeſty. In theſe times many worthy miniſters loſt their livings or benefices, for not complying with the Three-penny Directory. Had you ſeen (O noble Eſquire) what pitiful ideots were preferred into ſequeſtrated church-benefices, you would have been grieved in your ſoul; but when they came before the claſſis of divines, could

(*a*) This gentleman I was very well acquainted with, having lived at the houſe over-againſt his, at Aldbury in Surrey, three or four years. E. A.

thoſe

thoſe ſimpletons but only ſay, they were converted by hearing ſuch a ſermon, ſuch a lecture, of that godly man Hugh Peters, Stephen Marſhall, or any of that gang, he was preſently admitted.

In 1647, I publiſhed the World's Cataſtrophe, the Prophecies of Ambroſe Merlin, with the Key wherewith to unlock thoſe obſtruſe Prophecies; alſo Trithemius of the Government of the World by the preſiding Angels; theſe came forth all in one book.

The two firſt were exquiſitely tranſlated by yourſelf, (moſt learned Sir) as I do ingenuouſly acknowledge in my Epiſtle unto the Reader, with a true character of the worth and admirable parts, unto which I refer any that do deſire to read you perfectly delineated. I was once reſolved to have continued Trithemius for ſome ſucceeding years, but multiplicity of employment impeded me. The ſtudy required, in that kind of learning, muſt be ſedentary, of great reading, ſound judgment, which no man can accompliſh except he wholly retire, uſe prayer, and accompany himſelf with angelical conſorts.

His Majeſty Charles the Firſt, having entruſted the Scots with his perſon, was, for money, delivered into the hands of the Engliſh Parliament, and, by ſeveral removals, was had to Hampton-Court about July or Auguſt 1647; for he was

there, and at that time when my houſe was viſited with the plague. He was deſirous to eſcape from the ſoldiery, and to obſcure himſelf for ſome time near London, the citizens whereof began now to be unruly, and alienated in affection from the Parliament, inclining wholly to his Majeſty, and very averſe to the army. His Majeſty was well informed of all this, and thought to make good uſe hereof; beſides, the army and Parliament were at ſome odds, who ſhould be maſters. Upon the King's intention to eſcape, and with his conſent, Madam Whorewood (whom you knew very well, worthy Eſquire) came to receive my judgment, *viz.* In what quarter of this nation he might be moſt ſafe, and not to be diſcovered until himſelf pleaſed.

When ſhe came to my door, I told her I would not let her come into my houſe, for I buried a maid-ſervant of the plague very lately. 'I fear not the plague, 'but the pox,' quoth ſhe; ſo up we went. After erection of my figure, I told her about twenty miles (or thereabouts) from London, and in Eſſex, I was certain he might continue undiſcovered. She liked my judgment very well; and, being herſelf of a ſharp judgment, remembered a place in Eſſex about that diſtance, where was an excellent houſe, and all conveniences for his reception.

ception. Away ſhe went, early next morning, unto Hampton-Court, to acquaint his Majeſty; but ſee the misfortune: He, either guided by his own approaching hard fate, or miſguided by (*a*) Aſhburnham, went away in the night-time weſtward, and ſurrendered himſelf to Hammond, in the Iſle of Wight.

Whilſt his Majeſty was at Hampton-Court, Alderman Adams ſent his Majeſty one thouſand pounds in gold, five hundred whereof he gave to Madam Whorewood. I believe I had twenty pieces of that very gold for my ſhare.

I have ſomething more to write of Charles the Firſt's misfortunes, wherein I was concerned; the matter happened in 1648, but I thought good to inſert it here, having after this no more occaſion to mention him.

His Majeſty being in Cariſbrook-Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, the Kentiſh men, in great numbers, roſe in arms, and joined with the Lord Goring; a conſiderable number of the beſt ſhips revolted from the Parliament; the citizens of London were forward to riſe againſt the Parliament; his Majeſty laid his deſign to eſcape

(*a*) This Aſhburnham was turned out of the Houſe of Commons the 3d of November, 1667, for taking a bribe of five hundred pounds of the merchants. I was informed hereof 26 November, 1667.

out

out of priſon, by ſawing the iron bars of his chamber window; a ſmall ſhip was provided, and anchored not far from the caſtle to bring him into Suſſex; horſes were provided ready to carry him through Suſſex into Kent, that ſo he might be at the head of the army in Kent, and from thence to march immediately to London, where thouſands then would have armed for him. The Lady Whorewood came to me, acquaints me herewith. I got G. Farmer (who was a moſt ingenious lock-ſmith, and dwelt in Bow-lane) to make a ſaw to cut the iron bars in ſunder, I mean to ſaw them, and aqua fortis beſides. His Majeſty in a ſmall time did his work; the bars gave liberty for him to go out; he was out with his body till he came to his breaſt; but then his heart failing, he proceeded no farther: when this was diſcovered, as ſoon after it was, he was narrowly looked after, and no opportunity after that could be deviſed to enlarge him. About September the Parliament ſent their Commiſſioners with propoſitions unto him into the Iſle of Wight, the Lord William Sea being one; the Lady Whorewood comes again unto me from him or by his conſent, to be directed: After peruſal of my figure, I told her the Commiſſioners would be there ſuch a day; I elected a day and hour when

when to receive the Commiſſioners and propoſitions; and as ſoon as the propoſitions were read, to ſign them, and make haſte with all ſpeed to come up with the Commiſſioners to London. The army being then far diſtant from London, and the city enraged ſtoutly againſt them, he promiſed he would do ſo. That night the Commiſſioners came, and old Sea and his Majeſty had private conference till one in the morning: the King acquaints Sea with his intention, who clearly diſſwaded him from ſigning the propoſitions, telling him they were not fit for him to ſign; that he had many friends in the Houſe of Lords, and ſome in the Houſe of Commons; that he would procure more, and then they would frame more eaſy propoſitions. This flattery of this unfortunate Lord, occaſioned his Majeſty to wave the advice I and ſome others that wiſhed his proſperity had given, in expectation of that which afterwards could never be gained. The army having ſome notice hereof from one of the Commiſſioners, who had an eye upon old Sea, haſted unto London, and made the citizens very quiet; and beſides, the Parliament and army kept a better correſpondency afterwards with each other.

Whilſt the King was at Windſor-Caſtle, one walking upon the leads there, he looked

looked upon Captain Wharton's Almanack; 'My book,' ſaith he, 'ſpeaks well 'as to the weather:' One William Allen ſtanding by; 'what,' ſaith he, 'ſaith his antagoniſt, Mr. Lilly?' 'I do not care 'for Lilly,' ſaid his Majeſty, 'he hath 'been always againſt me,' and became a 'little bitter in his expreſſions. 'Sir,' ſaid Allen, 'the man is an honeſt man, 'and writes but what his art informs 'him.' 'I believe it,' ſaid his Majeſty, 'and that Lilly underſtands aſtrology as 'well as any man in Europe.' *Exit Rex Carolus.*

In 1648 I publiſhed a Treatiſe of the three Suns, ſeen the winter preceding; as alſo an Aſtrological Judgment upon a Conjunction of Saturn and Mars 28 June, in 11 degrees 8 minutes of Gemini.

I commend unto your peruſal that book and the Prophetical Merlin, which ſeriouſly conſidered, (Oh worthy Eſquire) will more inſtruct your judgment (*De generalibus contingentibus Mundi*) than all the authors you yet ever met with.

In this year, for very great conſiderations, the Counſel of State gave me in money fifty pounds, and a penſion of one hundred pounds *per Annum*, which for two years I received, but no more: upon ſome diſcontents I after would not or did require it. The cauſe moving them was

was this; they could get no intelligence out of France, although they had ſeveral agents there for that purpoſe. I had formerly acquaintance with a ſecular prieſt, at this time confeſſor to one of the Secretaries; unto him I wrote, and by that means had perfect knowledge of the chiefeſt concernments of France, at which they admired; but I never yet, until this day, revealed the name of the perſon.

One occaſion why I deſerted that employment was, becauſe Scott, who had eight hundred pounds *per Annum* for intelligence, would not contribute any occaſion to gratify my friend: And another thing was, I received ſome affront from Gualter Froſt their Secretary, one that was a principal miniſter belonging to the Council of State. Scott was ever my enemy, the other knave died of a gangrene in his arm ſuddenly after.

In 1648 and 1649, that I might encourage young ſtudents in aſtrology, I publickly read over the firſt part of my Introduction, wherein there are many things contained, not eaſily to be underſtood.

And now we are entered into the year 1649: his Majeſty being at St. James's Houſe, in January of that year, I begun its obſervations thus:

"I am

"I am ſerious, I beg and expect juſ-
"tice; either fear or ſhame begins to
"queſtion offenders.

"The lofty cedars begin to divine a
"thundering hurricane is at hand; God
"elevates men contemptible.

"Our demigods are ſenſible we begin
"to diſlike their actions very much in
"London, more in the country.

"Bleſſed be God, who encourages his
"ſervants, makes them valiant, and of
"undaunted ſpirits, to go on with his
"decrees: upon a ſudden, great expec-
"tations ariſe, and men generally believe
"a quiet and calm time draws nigh."

In Chriſtmas holidays, the Lord Gray of Grooby and Hugh Peters, ſent for me to Somerſet-Houſe, with directions to bring them two of my Almanacks.—I did ſo; Peters and he read January's Obſervations.

'If we are not fools and knaves,' ſaith he, 'we ſhall do juſtice:' then they whiſpered. I underſtood not their meaning till his Majeſty was beheaded. They applied what I wrote of juſtice, to be underſtood of his Majeſty, which was contrary to my intention; for Jupiter, the firſt day of January, became direct; and Libra is a ſign ſignifying Juſtice; I implored for juſtice generally upon ſuch as had

had cheated in their places, being treaſurers, and ſuch like officers. I had not then heard the leaſt intimation of bringing the King unto trial, and yet the firſt day thereof I was caſually there, it being upon a Saturday; for going to Weſtminſter every Saturday in the afternoon, in theſe times, at White-hall I caſually met Peters; 'Come, Lilly, wilt thou go hear 'the King tried?' 'When?' ſaid I. 'Now, 'juſt now; go with me.' I did ſo, and was permitted by the guard of ſoldiers to paſs up to the King's-Bench. Within one quarter of an hour came the Judges, preſently his Majeſty, who ſpoke excellently well, and majeſtically, without impediment in the leaſt when he ſpoke. I ſaw the ſilver top of his ſtaff unexpectedly fall to the ground, which was took up by Mr. Ruſhworth: but when I heard Bradſhaw the Judge ſay to his Majeſty,

'Sir, inſtead of anſwering the court, 'you interrogate their power, which be-'comes not one in your condition,'

Theſe words pierced my heart and ſoul, to hear a ſubject thus audaciouſly to reprehend his Sovereign, who ever and anon replied with great magnanimity and prudence.

After that his Majeſty was beheaded, the Parliament for ſome years affected nothing either for the publick peace or tran-

tranquillity of the nation, or ſettling religion as they had formerly promiſed. The interval of time betwixt his Majeſty's death and Oliver Cromwell's diſplacing them, was wholly conſumed in voting for themſelves, and bringing their own relations to be members of Parliament, thinking to make a trade thereof.

The week, or three or four days before his Majeſty's beheading, one Major Sydenham, who had commands in Scotland, came to take his leave of me, and told me the King was to be put to death, which I was not willing to believe, and ſaid, 'I could not be perſuaded the Par-'liament could find any Engliſhman ſo 'barbarous, that would do that foul 'action.' 'Rather,' ſaith he, 'than they 'ſhould want ſuch a man, theſe arms 'of mine ſhould do it.' He went preſently after into Scotland, and upon the firſt engagement againſt them, was ſlain, and his body miſerably cut and mangled.

In 1651 I publiſhed Monarchy or no Monarchy, and in the latter end thereof ſome hieroglyphicks of my own, compoſed, at ſpare time, by the occult learning, many of thoſe types having repreſentations of what ſhould from thence ſucceed in England, and have ſince had verification.

I had

I had not that learning from books, or any manuſcript I ever yet met withal; it is reduced from a cabal lodging in aſtrology, but ſo myſterious and difficult to be attained, that I have not yet been acquainted with any who had that knowledge. I will ſay no more thereof, but that the aſteriſms and ſigns and conſtellations give greateſt light thereunto.

During Bradſhaw's being Preſident of the Council of State, it was my happineſs to procure Captain Wharton his liberty, which when Bradſhaw underſtood, ſaid, 'I will be an enemy to Lilly, if ever 'he come before me.' Sir Bolſtrode Whitlock broke the ice firſt of all on behalf of Captain Wharton: after him the Committee, unto whom his offence had been committed, ſpoke for him, and ſaid he might well be bailed or enlarged: I had ſpoken to the Committee the morning of his delivery, who thereupon were ſo civil unto him, eſpecially Sir William Ermin of Lincolnſhire. who at firſt wondered I appeared not againſt him; but upon my humble requeſt, my long continued antagoniſt was enlarged and had his liberty.

In 1651 I purchaſed one hundred and ten pounds *per Annum* in fee-farm rents for one thouſand and thirty pounds. I paid all in ready money; but when his

Majeſty King Charles the Second, 1660, was reſtored, I loſt it all again, and it returned to the right owner; the loſs thereof never afflicted me, for I have ever reduced my mind according to my fortune. I was drawn in by ſeveral perſons to make that ſimple purchaſe. The year I bought it, I had my aſcendant directed into a Trine of Jupiter firſt, and in the ſame year into the Cauda Draconis —my fortune into a quadrant of Mercury. When Colcheſter was beſieged, John Booker and myſelf were ſent for, where we encouraged the ſoldiers, aſſuring them the town would very ſhortly be ſurrendered, as indeed it was: I would willingly have obtained leave to enter the town, to have informed Sir Charles Lucas, whom I well knew, with the condition of affairs as they then ſtood, he being deluded by falſe intelligence: at that time my ſcholar Humphreys was therein, who many times deluded the Governor with expectation of relief; but failing very many times with his lies, at laſt he had the baſtinado, was put in priſon, and inforced to become a ſoldier; and well it was he eſcaped ſo.—During my being there, the ſteeple of St. Mary's Church was much battered by two cannons purpoſely placed: I was there one day about three of the clock in the afternoon, talk-

ing with the cannoneer, when preſently he deſired us to look to ourſelves, for he perceived by his perſpective glaſs there was a piece charged in the caſtle againſt his work, and ready to be diſcharged. I ran for haſte under an old aſh-tree, and immediately the cannon-bullet came hiſſing quite over us. 'No danger now,' ſaith the gunner, 'but begone, for there are 'five more charging,' which was true; for two hours after thoſe cannons were diſcharged, and unluckily killed our cannoneer and matroſs. I came the next morning and ſaw the blood of the two poor men lie upon the planks: we were well entertained at the head quarters, and after two whole days abiding there, came for London.

But we proſecute our ſtory again, and ſay that in the year 1652 I purchaſed my houſe and ſome lands in Herſham, in the pariſh of Walton upon Thames, in the county of Surrey, where I now live; intending by the bleſſing of God, when I found it convenient, to retire into the country, there to end my days in peace and tranquillity; for in London my practice was ſuch, I had none or very little time afforded me to ſerve God, who had been ſo gracious unto me. The purchaſe of the houſe and lands, and building, ſtood me in nine hundred and

fifty pounds ſterling, which I have very much augmented.

The Parliament now grows odious unto all good men, the members whereof became inſufferable in their pride, covetouſneſs, ſelf-ends, lazineſs, minding nothing but how to enrich themſelves. Much heart-burning now aroſe betwixt the Preſbyterian and Independant, the latter ſiding with the army, betwixt whoſe two judgments there was no medium. Now came up, or firſt appeared, that monſtrous people called Ranters: and many other novel opinions in themſelves heretical and ſcandalous, were countenanced by members of Parliament, many whereof were of the ſame judgment. Juſtice was neglected, vice countenanced, and all care of the common good laid aſide. Every judgment almoſt groaned under the heavy burthen they then ſuffered; the army neglected; the city of London ſcorned; the miniſtry, eſpecially thoſe who were orthodox and ſerious, honeſt or virtuous, had no countenance; my ſoul began to loath the very name of a Parliament, or Parliament-men. There yet remained in the Houſe very able, judicious, and worthy patriots; but they, by their ſilence, only ſerved themſelves: all was carried on by a rabble of dunces, who being the greater number, voted

what

what ſeemed beſt to their nonintelligent fancies.

In this year I publiſhed Annus Tenebroſus, which book I did not ſo entitle, becauſe of the great obſcurity of the ſolar eclipſe, by ſo many prattled of to no purpoſe, but becauſe of thoſe underhand and clandeſtine counſels held in England by the ſoldiery, of which I would never, but in generals, give any knowledge unto any Parliamant man. I had wrote publickly in 1650, that the Parliament ſhould not continue, but a new government ſhould ariſe, &c.

In my next year's Anglicus, upon rational grounds in aſtrology, I was ſo bold as to aver therein, that the Parliament ſtood upon a tottering foundation, and that the commonalty and ſoldiery would join together againſt them.

My Anglicus was for a whole week every day in the Parliament Houſe, peeped into by the Preſbyterians, one diſliking this ſentence, another finds another fault, others miſliked the whole; ſo in the end a motion was made, that Anglicus ſhould be inſpected by the Committee for plundered miniſters; which being done, they were to return them to the Houſe, *viz.* report its errors.

A meſſenger attached me by a warrant from that Committee; I had private

notice ere the meſſenger came, and haſted unto Mr. Speaker Lenthall, ever my friend. He was exceeding glad to ſee me, told me what was done, called for Anglicus, marked the paſſages which tormented the Preſbyterians ſo highly. I preſently ſent for Mr. Warren the printer, an aſſured Cavalier, obliterated what was moſt offenſive, put in other more ſignificant words, and deſired only to have ſix amended againſt next morning, which very honeſtly he brought me. I told him my deſign was to deny the book found fault with, to own only the ſix books. I told him, I doubted he would be examined. 'Hang them,' ſaid he, 'they are all 'rogues. I'll ſwear myſelf to the devil 'ere they ſhall have an advantage againſt 'you by my oath.'

The day after, I appeared before the Committee, being thirty ſix in number that day; whereas it was obſerved, at other times, it was very difficult to get five of them together. At firſt they ſhewed me the true Anglicus, and aſked if I wrote and printed it. I took the book and inſpected it very heedfully; and, when I had done ſo, ſaid thus:

'This is none of my book, ſome ma-'licious Preſbyterian hath wrote it, who 'are my mortal enemies; I diſown it.' The Committee looked upon one another

ther like diſtracted men, not imagining what I preſently did; for I preſently pulled out of my pocket ſix books, and ſaid, 'Theſe I own, the others are counterfeits, publiſhed purpoſely to ruin me.' The Committee were now more vexed than before: Not one word was ſpoke a good while; at laſt, many of them, or the greateſt number of them, were of opinion to impriſon me. Some were for Newgate, others for the Gate-Houſe; but then one Brown of Suſſex, called the Preſbyterian beadle, whom the company of Stationers had bribed to be my friend, by giving him a new book of Martyrs; he, I ſay, preached unto the Committee this doctrine, that neither Newgate or the Gate-Houſe were priſons unto which at any time the Parliament ſent priſoners; it was moſt convenient for the Serjeant at Arms to take me in cuſtody.

Mr. Strickland, who had for many years been the Parliament's Ambaſſador or Agent in Holland, when he ſaw how they inclined, ſpoke thus:

'I came purpoſely into the Committee 'this day to ſee the man who is ſo fa'mous in thoſe parts where I have ſo 'long continued: I aſſure you his name 'is famous all over Europe: I come to 'do him juſtice. A book is produced by

'us, and ſaid to be his; he denies it; 'we have not proved it, yet will commit 'him. Truly this is great injuſtice. It 'is likely he will write next year, and 'acquaint the whole world with our in-'juſtice; and ſo well he may. It is my 'opinion, firſt to prove the book to be 'his, ere he be committed.'

Another old friend of mine, Mr. R. ſpoke thus:

'You do not know the many ſervices 'this man hath done for the Parliament 'theſe many years, or how many times, 'in our greateſt diſtreſſes, we applying 'unto him, he hath refreſhed our lan-'guiſhing expectations; he never failed 'us of comfort in our moſt unhappy 'diſtreſſes. I aſſure you his writings have 'kept up the ſpirits both of the ſoldiery, 'the honeſt people of this nation, and 'many of us Parliament men; and now 'at laſt, for a ſlip of his pen (if it were 'his) to be thus violent againſt him: I 'muſt tell you, I fear the conſequence 'urged out of the book will prove ef-'fectually true. It is my counſel, to 'admoniſh him hereafter to be more 'wary, and for the preſent to diſmiſs 'him.'

Notwithſtanding any thing that was ſpoken on my behalf, I was ordered to ſtand committed to the Serjeant at Arms.

The

The meſſenger attached my perſon, ſaid I was his priſoner. As he was carrying me away, he was called to bring me again. Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant-General of the army, having never ſeen me, cauſed me to be produced again, where he ſtedfaſtly beheld me for a good ſpace, and then I went with the meſſenger; but inſtantly a young clerk of that Committee aſks the meſſenger what he did with me, where's the warrant? until that is ſigned you cannot ſeize Mr. Lilly, or ſhall. Will you have an action of falſe impriſonment againſt you? So I eſcaped that night, but next day obeyed the warrant. That night Oliver Cromwell went to Mr. R. my friend, and ſaid, 'What never a man to take Lilly's caſtle 'in hand but yourſelf? None to take his 'part but you? He ſhall not be long there.' Hugh Peters ſpoke much in my behalf to the Committee; but they were reſolved to lodge me in the Serjeant's cuſtody. One Millington, a drunken member, was much my enemy, and ſo was Cawley and Chicheſter, a deformed fellow, unto whom I had done ſeveral courteſies.

Firſt thirteen days I was a priſoner; and though every day of the Committee's ſitting I had a petition to deliver, yet ſo many churliſh Preſbyterians ſtill appeared, I could not get it accepted. The laſt

laſt day of the thirteen, Mr. Joſeph Aſh was made Chairman, unto whom my cauſe being related, he took my petition, and ſaid I ſhould be bailed in deſpite of them all, but deſired I would procure as many friends as I could to be there, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, and Major Salloway, a perſon of excellent parts, appeared for me, and many now of my old friends came in. After two whole hours arguing of my cauſe by Sir Arthur and Major Salloway, and other friends, the matter came to this point; I ſhould be bailed, and a Committee nominated to examine the printer. The order of the Committee being brought afterwards to him who ſhould be Chairman, he ſent me word, do what I would, he would ſee all the knaves hanged, ere he would examine the printer. This is the truth of the ſtory.

The 16th of February 165½, my ſecond wife died; for whoſe death I ſhed no tears. I had five hundred pounds with her as a portion, but ſhe and her poor relations ſpent me one thouſand pounds. *Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto: ſicut erat in principio & nunc & ſemper, & in ſæcula ſæculorum.* For the 20th of April 1655, theſe enemies of mine, *viz.* Parliament men, were turned out of doors by Oliver Cromwell. A German doctor

of

of phyſick being then in London, ſent me this paper:

Strophe Alcaica: Generoſo Domino Gulielmo Lillio Aſtrologo, de diſſoluto nuper Parliamento.

Quod calculaſti Sydere prævio,
Miles peregit numine conſcio,
Gentis videmus nunc Senatum,
Marte Tog.q; gravi levatum.

In the time of my impriſonment, Mr. Ruſhworth came to viſit me, and told me, the army would do as much as I had predicted unto the Parliament.

In October 1654, I married the third wife, who is ſignified in my nativity by Jupiter in Libra; and ſhe is ſo totally in her conditions, to my great comfort.

In 1655, I was indicted at Hicks's-Hall by a half-witted young woman. Three ſeveral Seſſions ſhe was neglected, and the Jury caſt forth her bill; but the fourth time, they found it againſt me: I put in bail to traverſe the indictment. The cauſe of the indictment was, for that I had given judgment upon ſtolen goods, and received two ſhillings and ſix pence. —And this was ſaid to be contrary unto an Act in King James's time made.

This mad woman was put upon this action againſt me by two miniſters, who had

had framed for her a very ingenious ſpeech, which ſhe could ſpeak without book, as ſhe did the day of hearing the traverſe. She produced one woman, who told the court, a ſon of her's was run from her; that being in much affliction of mind for her loſs, ſhe repaired unto me to know what was become of him; that I told her he was gone for the Barbadoes, and ſhe would hear of him within thirteen days; which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe did.

A ſecond woman made oath, that her huſband being wanting two years, ſhe repaired to me for advice: That I told her he was in Ireland, and would be at home ſuch a time; and, ſaid ſhe, he did come home accordingly.

I owned the taking of half a crown for my judgment of the theft; but ſaid, I gave no other judgment, but that the goods would not be recovered, being that was all which was required of me: the party, before that, having been with ſeveral aſtrologers, ſome affirming ſhe ſhould have her goods again, others gave contrary judgment, which made her come unto me for a final reſolution.

At laſt my enemy began her before-made ſpeech, and, without the leaſt ſtumbling, pronounced it before the court; which ended, ſhe had ſome queries put unto her, and then I ſpoke for myſelf,

and

and produced my own Introduction into court, ſaying, that I had ſome years before emitted that book for the benefit of this and other nations; that it was allowed by authority, and had found good acceptance in both univerſities; that the ſtudy of aſtrology was lawful, and not contradicted by any ſcripture; that I neither had, or ever did, uſe any charms, ſorceries, or inchantments related in the bill of indictment, &c.

She then related, that ſhe had been ſeveral times with me, and that afterwards ſhe could not reſt a nights, but was troubled with bears, lions, and tygers, &c. My counſel was the Recorder Green, who after he had anſwered all objections, concluded, aſtrology was a lawful art.

'Miſtreſs,' ſaid he, 'what colour was 'thoſe beaſts that you were ſo terrified 'with?'

'I never ſaw any,' ſaid ſhe.

'How do you then know they were 'lions, tygers, or bears,' replied he to her 'This is an idle perſon, only fit for Bed-'lam.' The Jury, who went not from the bar, brought in, No true Bill.

There were many Preſbyterian Juſtices much for her, and eſpecially one Roberts, a buſy fellow for the Parliament, who after his Majeſty came in, had like to have loſt life and fortune.

I had

I had procured Juſtice Hooker to be there, who was the oracle of all the Juſtices of Peace in Middleſex.

There was nothing memorable, after that happened unto me, until 1650, and the month of October, at what time Captain Owen Cox brought me over from his Majeſty of Sweden, a gold chain and medal, worth about fifty pounds; the cauſe whereof was, that in the year 1657, and 1658, I had made honourable mention of him: the Anglicus of 1658 being tranſlated into the language ſpoke at Hamburgh, printed and cried about the ſtreets, as it is in London. 1660

The occaſion of my writing ſo honourably of his Majeſty of Sweden was this: Sir Bolſtrode Whitlock, Knight, upon the very time of Oliver's being made Protector, having made very noble articles betwixt Chriſtina then Queen of Sweden, and the Engliſh nation, was in his being at Stockholm viſited frequently by Charles Guſtavus, unto whom Chriſtina reſigned during his abode, and uſed with all manner of civility by him, inſomuch as ſome other Ambaſſadors took it ill, that they had not ſo much reſpect or equal: unto which he would reply, he would be kind where himſelf did find juſt cauſe of merit unto any. He was a great lover of our nation; but there was ſome other cauſes

alſo

alſo moving my pen to be ſo liberal, *viz.* The great hopes I had of his prevailing, and of taking Copenhagen and Elſinore, which if he had lived, was hoped he might have accompliſhed; and had aſſuredly done, if Oliver the Protector had not ſo untimely died ere our fleet of ſhips returned; for Oliver ſent the fleet on purpoſe to fight the Dutch; but dying, and the Parliament being reſtored, Sir Henry Vane, who afterwards was beheaded, had order from the Council of State to give order to the fleet what to do now Oliver was dead, and themſelves reſtored. Vane, out of ſtate-policy, gave the Earl of Sandwich direction not to fight the Dutch. Captain Symons, who carried thoſe letters, ſwore unto me, had he known the letters he carried had contained any ſuch prohibition, he would have ſunk both ſhip and letters. Oliver ſaid, when the fleet was to go forth, 'That if God bleſſed his Majeſty of Sweden with Copenhagen, the Engliſh were 'to have Elſinore as their ſhare; which 'if once I have,' ſaith Oliver, 'the Engliſh ſhall have the whole trade of the 'Baltick Sea: I will make the Dutch find 'another paſſage, except they will pay 'ſuch cuſtoms as I ſhall impoſe.' Conſidering the advantages this would have been to our Engliſh, who can blame my

pen

pen for being liberal, thereby to have encouraged our famous and noble ſeamen, or for writing ſo honourably of the Swediſh nation, who had moſt courteouſly treated my beſt of friends, Sir Bolſtrode Whitlock, and by whoſe means, had the deſign taken effect, the Engliſh nation had been made happy with the moſt beneficial concern of all Chriſtendom. I ſhall conclude about Oliver the then Protector, with whom obliquely I had tranſactions by his ſon-in-law, Mr. Cleypool, and to ſpeak truly of him, he ſent one that waited upon him in his chamber, once in two or three days, to hear how it fared with me in my ſeſſions buſineſs; but I never had of him, directly or indirectly, either penſion, or any the leaſt ſum of money, or any gratuity during his whole Protectorſhip; this I proteſt to be true, by the name and in the name of the moſt holy God.

In 1653, before the diſſolution of the Parliament, and that ere they had choſen any for their Ambaſſador into Sweden, Mr. Cleypool came unto me, demanding of me whom I thought fitteſt to ſend upon that ambaſſy into Sweden: I nominated Sir B. Whitlock, who was choſen, and two or three days after Mr. Cleypool came again: 'I hope Mr. Lilly, my fa-'ther, hath now pleaſed you: Your friend

'Sir B. Whitlock is to go for Sweden.' But ſince I have mentioned Oliver Cromwell, I will relate ſomething of him, which perhaps no other pen can, or will mention. He was born of generous parents in Huntingdonſhire, educated ſome time at the univerſity of Cambridge: in his youth was wholly given to debauchery, quarelling, drinking, &c. *quid non*; having by thoſe means waſted his patrimony, he was enforced to bethink himſelf of leaving England, and go to New-England: he had hired a paſſage in a ſhip, but ere ſhe launched out for her voyage, a kinſman dieth, leaving him a conſiderable fortune; upon which he returns, pays his debts, became affected to religion; is elected in 1640 a member of Parliament, in 1642 made a Captain of horſe under Sir Philip Stapleton, fought at Edge-Hill; after he was made a Colonel, then Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Mancheſter, who was one of the three Generals to fight the Earl of Newcaſtle and Prince Rupert at York: Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, and Earl Leven the Scot, were the other two for the Parliament: the laſt two thinking all had been loſt at Marſton-Moor fight, Fairfax went into Cawood Caſtle, giving all for loſt: at twelve at night there came word of the Parliament's victory; Fairfax being then

laid down upon a bed, there was not a candle in the caſtle, nor any fire: up riſeth Lord Fairfax, procures after ſome time, paper, ink, and candle, writes to Hull, and other garriſons of the Parliament's, of the ſucceſs, and then ſlept.

Leven the Scot aſked the way to Tweed: the honour of that day's fight was given to Mancheſter, Sir Thomas Fairfax's brigade of horſe, and Oliver Cromwell's iron ſides; for Cromwell's horſe, in thoſe times, uſually wore head-pieces, back and breaſt-plates of iron. After this victory Cromwell became gracious with the Houſe of Commons, eſpecially the Zealots, or Preſbyterians, with whom at that time he eſpecially joined; the name Independent, at that time, *viz.* 1644, being not ſo much ſpoken of.

There was ſome animoſity at or before the fight, betwixt the Earl of Newcaſtle and Prince Rupert; for Newcaſtle being General of his Majeſty's forces in the North, a perſon of valour, and well eſteemed in thoſe parts, took it not well to have a competitor in his concernments; for if the victory ſhould fall on his Majeſty's ſide, Prince Rupert's forces would attribute it unto their own General, *viz.* Rupert, and give him the glory thereof: but that it happened, Prince Rupert, in that day's fight, engaged the Parliament's

forces

forces too ſoon, and before the Earl of Newcaſtle could well come out of York with his army; by reaſon whereof, though Rupert had abſolutely routed the Scots and the Lord Fairfax's forces; yet ere timely aſſiſtance could ſecond his army, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell had put him to flight, and not long after all Newcaſtle's army. Amongſt the moſt memorable actions of that day's this happened, that one entire regiment of foot belonging to Newcaſtle, called the Lambs, becauſe they were all new cloathed in white woollen cloth, two or three days before the fight. This ſole regiment, after the day was loſt, having got into a ſmall parcel of ground ditched in, and not of eaſy acceſs of horſe, would take no quarter; and by mere valour, for one whole hour, kept the troops of horſe from entering amongſt them at near puſh of pike: when the horſe did enter, they would have no quarter, but fought it out till there was not thirty of them living: thoſe whoſe hap it was to be beaten down upon the ground as the troopers came near them, though they could not riſe for their wounds, yet were ſo deſperate as to get either a pike or ſword, or piece of them, and to gore the troopers horſes as they came over them, or paſſed by them. Captain Camby, then a trooper under Crom-

well, and an actor, who was the third or fourth man that entered amongſt them, proteſted, he never in all the fights he was in, met with ſuch reſolute brave fellows, or whom he pitied ſo much, and ſaid, 'he ſaved two or three againſt their 'wills.'

After the fight, Mancheſter marched ſlowly ſouthward, &c. but at laſt came with his army to Newbery fight; which ended, he came for London, and there he accuſeth Cromwell, being his Lieutenant, to the Parliament, of diſobedience, and not obeying his orders.

The Houſe of Commons acquaint Cromwell herewith, and charge him, as he would anſwer it before God, that the day following he ſhould give them a full account of Mancheſter's proceedings, and the cauſe and occaſion of their difference, and of the reaſons why Mancheſter did not timely move weſtward for the relief of Eſſex, then in the weſt, who was abſolutely routed, inforced to fly, all his foot taken, and all his ordnance and train of artillery, only the horſe eſcaping.

Cromwell the next day gave this account to Mr. Speaker in the Houſe of Commons—by way of recrimination.

That after God had given them a ſucceſsful victory at Marſton over the King's forces, and that they had well refreſhed their

their army, Manchester, by their order, did move southward, but with such slowness, that sometimes he would not march for three days together; sometimes he would lie still one day, then two days; whereupon he said, considering the Earl of Essex was in the west, with what success he then knew not, he moved Manchester several times to quicken his march to the west, for relief of Essex, if he were beaten, or to divert the King's forces from following of Essex; but he said Manchester still refused to make any haste; and that one day he said, 'If any 'man but yourself, Lieutenant, should 'so frequently trouble me, I would call 'him before a Council of War. We 'have beaten the King's forces in the 'north; if we should do so in the west, 'his Majesty is then undone: He hath 'many sons living; if any of them come 'to the Crown, as they well may, they 'will never forget us.' This Major Hammond, a man of honour, will justify as well as myself. After which he marched not at all, until he had order from the Committee to hasten westward, by reason of Essex's being lost in Cornwall, which then he did; and at Newbery fight, it is true, I refused to obey his directions and order: for this it was; his Majesty's horse being betwixt

four and five thousand in a large common, in good order, he commands me, Mr. Speaker, to charge them; we having no way to come at them but through a narrow lane, where not above three horse could march abreast; whereby had I followed his order, we had been all cut off ere we could have got into any order. Mr. Speaker, (and then he wept; which he could do *toties quoties*) I considering that all the visible army you then had, was by this counsel in danger to be lost, refused thus to endanger the main strength, which now most of all consisted of those horse under my command, &c. This his recrimination was well accepted by the House of Commons, who thereupon, and from that time, thought there was none of the House of Lords, very fit to be entrusted with their future armies, but had then thoughts of making a commoner their General; which afterwards they did, and elected Sir Thomas Fairfax their General, and Cromwell Lieutenant-General; but it was next spring first. Upon Essex's being lost in Cornwall, I heard Serjeant Maynard say, 'If 'now the King haste to London we are 'undone, having no army to resist him.'

His Majesty had many misfortunes ever attending him, during his abode at

Oxford; ſome by reaſon of that great animoſity betwixt Prince Rupert and the Lord Digby, each endeavouring to croſs one another; but the worſt of all was by treachery of ſeveral officers under his command, and in his ſervice; for the Parliament had in continual pay one Colonel of the King's Council of War; one Lieutenant-Colonel; one Captain; one Enſign; one or two Serjeants; ſeveral Corporals, who had conſtant pay, and duly paid them every month, according to the capacity of their offices and places, and yet none of theſe knew any thing of each other's being ſo employed. There were ſeveral well-wiſhers unto the Parliament in Oxford, where each left his letter, putting it in at the hole of a glaſs-window, as he made water in the ſtreet. What was put in at the window in any of thoſe houſes, was the ſame day conveyed two miles off by ſome in the habit of town-gardeners, to the ſide of a ditch, where one or more were ever ready to give the intelligence to the next Parliament garriſon: I was then familiar with all the ſpies that conſtantly went in and out to Oxford.

But once more to my own actions. I had in 1652 and 1653 and 1654 much contention with Mr. Gatacre of Rotherhithe, a man endued with all kind of

learning, and the ableſt man of the whole ſynod of divines in the Oriental tongues.

The ſynod had concluded to make an expoſition upon the bible; ſome undertook one book, ſome another. Gataere fell upon Jeremy. Upon making his expoſition on the 2d verſe of the 10th chapter,

'Learn not the way of the heathen, 'and be not diſmayed at the ſigns of 'heaven, for the heathen are diſmayed at 'them.'

In his Annotations thereupon, he makes a ſcandalous expoſition; and in expreſs terms, hints at me, repeating *verbatim*, ten or twelve times an Epiſtle of mine in one of my former Anglicus.

The ſubſtance of my Epiſtle was, that I did conceive the good angels of God, did firſt reveal aſtrology unto mankind, &c. but he in his Annotations calls me blind buzzard, &c.

Having now liberty of the preſs, and hearing the old man was very cholerick, I thought fit to raiſe it up — and only wrote — I referred my diſcourſe then in hand to the diſcuſſion and judgment of ſober perſons, but not unto Thomas Wiſeacre, for *Senes bis pueri*. Theſe very words begot the writing of forty-two ſheets againſt myſelf and aſtrology. The next year I quibbled again in three or four lines

lines against him, then he printed twenty-two sheets against me. I was persuaded by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Exeter, to let him alone; but in my next year's Anglicus, in August observations, I wrote, *Hoc in tumba jacet Presbyter & Nebula*, in which very month he died.

Several divines applied themselves unto me, desiring me to forbear any further vexing of Mr. Gataere; but all of them did as much condemn him of indiscretion, that in so sober a piece of work as that was, viz. in an Annotation upon a sacred text of scripture to particularize me, and in that dirty language: they pitied him, that he had not better considered with himself ere he published it.

Dean Owen of Christ's Church in Oxford, also in his sermons had sharp invectives against me and astrology. I cried quittance with him, by urging *Abbot Panormitan's* judgment of astrology contrary to Owen's, and concluded, 'An Abbot was an ace above a Dean.'

One Mr. Nye of the assembly of divines, a Justitical Presbyterian, bleated forth his judgment publickly against me and astrology: to be quit with him, I urged Causinus the Jesuit's approbation of astrology, and concluded, *Sic canibus catulos, &c.*

In

In ſome time after the Dutch Ambaſſador was offended with ſome things in Anglicus, preſented a memorial to the Council of State, that Merlinus Anglicus might be conſidered, and the abuſes againſt their nation examined; but his paper was not accepted of, or I any way moleſted.

In Oliver's Protectorſhip, I wrote freely and ſatyrical enough: he was now become Independant, and all the ſoldiery my friends; for when he was in Scotland, the day of one of their fights, a ſoldier ſtood with Anglicus in his hand; and as the ſeveral troops paſſed by him, 'Lo, 'hear what Lilly ſaith; you are in this 'month promiſed victory, fight it out, 'brave boys, and then read that month's 'prediction.'

I had long before predicted the downfall of Preſbytery, as you (moſt honoured Sir) in the figure thereof, in my Introduction, may obſerve; and it was upon this occaſion. Sir Thomas Middleton of Chark Caſtle, enemy to Preſbytery, ſeeing they much prevailed, being a member of the Houſe, ſeriouſly demanded my judgment, if Preſbytery ſhould prevail, or not, in England? The figure printed in my Introduction, will beſt give you an account, long before it happened, of the ſinking and failing of Preſbytery; ſo will the

the ſecond page of my Hieroglyphicks. Thoſe men, to be ſerious, would preach well; but they were more lordly than Biſhops, and uſually, in their pariſhes, more tyrannical than the Great Turk.

Of the Year 1660; the Actions whereof, as they were remarkable in England, ſo were they no leſs memorable as to my particular Fortune and Perſon.

Upon the Lord General Monk's returning from Scotland with his army into England, ſuddenly after his coming to London, Richard Cromwell, the then Protector's authority was laid aſide, and the old Parliament reſtored; the Council of State ſat as formerly. The firſt act they put the General upon was, to take down the city gates and portculliſſes, an act which, the General ſaid, was fitter for a Janizary to do than for a General; yet he effected the Commands received, and then lodged in the city with his army. The citizens took this pulling down of their gates ſo heinouſly, that one night the ruder ſort of them procured all the rumps of beef, and other baggage, and publickly burnt them in the ſtreets, in deriſion of the then Parliament,

Parliament, calling them that now ſat, The Rump. This hurly-burly was managed as well by the General's ſoldiers as the citizens. The King's health was publickly drank all over the city, to the confuſion of the Parliament. The matter continued until midnight, or longer. The Council of State, ſitting at White-Hall, had hereof no knowledge, until Sir Martin Noell, a diſcreet citizen, came about nine at night, and then firſt informed them thereof. The Council could not believe it, until they had ſent ſome miniſters of their own, who affirmed the verity thereof. They were at a ſtand, and could not reſolve what to do; at laſt Nevil Smith came, being one of them, and publickly proteſted there was but one way to regain their authority, and to be revenged of this affront, and to overthrow the Lord General Monk, whom they now perceived intended otherways than he had pretended; his counſel was, to take away Monk's commiſſion, and to give a preſent commiſſion to Major-General Lambert to be their General; which counſel of his, if they would take and put it ſpeedily in execution, would put an end unto all the preſent miſchiefs. The Council in general did all very well approve Nevil Smith's judgment; but preſently up ſtarts Sir Arthur Hazellrigg,

and

and makes a ſharp invective againſt Lambert, and concluded, he would rather periſh under the King of Scots power, than that Lambert ſhould ever any more have command under the Parliament.

The Lord General ſuddenly after brings in the long excluded Members to ſit in Parliament, being perſons of great judgment, and formerly enforced from ſitting therein by the ſoldiery, and connivance of thoſe who ſtiled themſelves the godly part of the Parliament. Theſe honourable patriots preſently voted his Majeſty's coming into England, and ſo he did in May 1660. But becauſe Charles the Second, now (1667.) King of England, Son of Charles the Firſt, grandchild to James the Firſt, King of Great Brittany, was ſo miraculouſly reſtored, and ſo many hundreds of years ſince propheſied of by Ambroſe Merlin, it will not be impertinent to mention the prophecies themſelves, the rather becauſe we have ſeen their verification.

Ambroſe Merlin's Prophecy wrote about 900 Years ſince.

He calls King James, The Lion of Righteouſneſs; and ſaith, when he died, or was dead, there would reign a noble White

White King; this was Charles the First. The prophet diſcovers all his troubles, his flying up and down, his impriſonment, his death; and calls him Aquila. What concerns Charles the Second, is the ſubject of our diſcourſe: In the Latin copy it is thus:

Deinde ab Auſtro veniet cum Sole ſuper ligneos equos, & ſuper ſpumantem inundationem maris, Pullus Aquilæ navigans in Britanniam.

Et applicans ſtatim tunc altam domum Aquilæ ſitiens, & cito aliam ſitiet.

Deinde Pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in ſumma rupe totius Britanniæ: nec juvenis occidet, nec ad ſenem vivet.

This, in an old copy, is Engliſhed thus:

'After then, ſhall come through the 'ſouth with the ſun, on horſe of tree, 'and upon all waves of the ſea, the 'Chicken of the Eagle, ſailing into Bri-'tain, and arriving anon to the houſe of 'the Eagle, he ſhall ſhew fellowſhip to 'them beaſts.

'After, the Chicken of the Eagle ſhall 'neſtle in the higheſt rock of all Britain; 'nay, he ſhall nought be ſlain young; 'nay, he nought come old.'

Another Latin copy renders the laſt verſe thus:

Deinde

Deindè pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in ſummo rupium, nec juvenis occidetur, nec ad ſenium perveniet. There is after this, *pacificato regno, Omnes occidet*; which is intended of thoſe perſons put to death, that ſat as Judges upon his father's death.

The Verification.

His Majeſty being in the Low-Countries when the Lord General had reſtored the ſecluded Members, the Parliament ſent part of the Royal Navy to bring him for England, which they did in May 1660. Holland is Eaſt from England, ſo he came with the ſun; but he landed at Dover, a port in the ſouth part of England. Wooden-horſes, are the Engliſh ſhips.

Tunc nidificabit in ſummo rupium.

The Lord General, and moſt of the gentry in England, met him in Kent, and brought him unto London, then to White-hall.

Here, by the higheſt Rooch, (ſome write Rock,) is intended London, being the metropolis of all England.

Since which time, unto this very day I write this ſtory, he hath reigned in England, and long may he do hereafter. 10 December 1667.

Had

Had I leiſure, I might verify the whole preceding part concerning King Charles. Much of the verification thereof is mentioned in my Collection of Prophecies, printed 1645. But his Majeſty being then alive, I forbore much of that ſubject, not willing to give offence. I dedicated that book unto him; and, in the concluſion thereof, I adviſed his return unto Parliament, with theſe words, *Fac hoc & vives.*

There was alſo a Prophecy printed 1588, in Greek characters, exactly decyphering the long troubles the Engliſh nation had from 1641 until 1660; and then it ended thus:

'And after that ſhall come a dreadful 'dead man, and with him a Royal G.' [it is Gamma in the Greek, intending C. in the Latin, being the third letter in the alphabet,] 'of the beſt blood in the 'world, and he ſhall have the Crown, and 'ſhall ſet England on the right way, and 'put out all hereſies.'

Monkery being extinguiſhed above eighty or ninety years, and the Lord General's name being Monk, is the Dead Man. The Royal G. or C. is Charles the Second, who, for his extraction, may be ſaid to be of the beſt blood in the world.

Theſe

Theſe two Prophecies were not given vocally by the angels, but by inſpection of the cryſtal in types and figures, or by apparition the circular way, where, at ſome diſtance, the angels appear, repreſenting by forms, ſhapes, and creatures, what is demanded. It is very rare, yea, even in our days, for any operator or maſter to have the angels ſpeak articulately; when they do ſpeak, it is like the Iriſh, much in the throat.

What further concerns his Majeſty, will more fully be evident about 1672 or 1674, or, at fartheſt, in 1676. And now unto my own actions in 1660.

In the firſt place, my fee-farm rents, being of the yearly value of one hundred and twenty pounds, were all loſt by his Majeſty's coming to his reſtoration; but I do ſay truly, the loſs thereof did never trouble me, or did I repine thereat.

In June of that year, a new Parliament was called, whereunto I was unwillingly invited by two meſſengers of the Serjeant at Arms. The matter whereupon I was taken into cuſtody was, to examine me concerning the perſon who cut off the King's head, *viz.* the late King's.

Sir Daniel Harvey, of Surrey, got the buſineſs moved againſt me in great diſ-

pleaſure, becauſe, at the election of new Knights for Surrey, I procured the whole town of Walton to ſtand, and give their voices, for Sir Richard Onſlow. The Committee to examine me, were Mr. Prinn, one Colonel King, and Mr. Richard Weſton of Gray's-Inn.

God's providence appeared very much for me that day, for walking in Weſtminſter-Hall, Mr. Richard Pennington, ſon to my old friend Mr. William Pennington, met me, and enquiring the cauſe of my being there, ſaid no more, but walked up and down the hall, and related my kindneſs to his father unto very many Parliament men of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, Cumberland, and thoſe northern countries, who numerouſly came up into the Speaker's chamber, and bade me be of good comfort: at laſt he meets Mr. Weſton, one of the three unto whom my matter was referred for examination, who told Mr. Pennington, that he came purpoſely to puniſh me, and would be bitter againſt me; but hearing it related, *viz.* my ſingular kindneſs and preſervation of old Mr. Pennington's eſtate, to the value of ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds, 'I will do him all the 'good I can,' ſays he. 'I thought he 'had never done any good; let me ſee 'him, and let him ſtand behind me where 'I ſit:'

'I ſit:' I did ſo. At my firſt appearance, many of the young members affronted me highly, and demanded ſeveral ſcurrilous queſtions. Mr. Weſton held a paper before his mouth; bade me anſwer nobody but Mr. Prinn; I obeyed his command, and ſaved myſelf much trouble thereby; and when Mr. Prinn put any difficult or doubtful query unto me, Mr. Weſton prompted me with a fit anſwer. At laſt, after almoſt one hour's tugging, I deſired to be fully heard what I could ſay as to the perſon who cut Charles the Firſt's head off. Liberty being given me to ſpeak, I related what follows, *viz.*

That the next Sunday but one after Charles the Firſt was beheaded, Robert Spavin, Secretary unto Lieutenant-General Cromwell at that time, invited himſelf to dine with me, and brought Anthony Peirſon, and ſeveral others, along with him to dinner; That their principal diſcourſe all dinner-time, was only, who it was that beheaded the King; one ſaid it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others alſo were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, ſo ſoon as dinner was done, took me by the hand, and carried me to the ſouth window: ſaith he, 'Theſe are all 'miſtaken, they have not named the man 'that did the fact; it was Lieutenant-

'Colonel JOICE; I was in the room 'when he fitted himſelf for the work, 'ſtood behind him when he did it; 'when done, went in again with him: 'There is no man knows this but my 'maſter, *viz.* Cromwell, Commiſſary 'Ireton, and myſelf.' 'Doth not Mr. 'Ruſhworth know it?' ſaid I. 'No, he 'doth not know it,' ſaith Spavin. The ſame thing Spavin ſince had often related unto me when we were alone. Mr. Prinn did, with much civility, make a report hereof in the Houſe; yet Norfolk the Serjeant, after my diſcharge, kept me two days longer in arreſt, purpoſely to get money of me. He had ſix pounds, and his Meſſenger forty ſhillings; and yet I was attached but upon Sunday, examined on Tueſday, and then diſcharged, though the covetous Serjeant detained me until Thurſday. By means of a friend, I cried quittance with Norfolk, which friend was to pay him his ſalary at that time, and abated Norfolk three pounds, which we ſpent every penny at one dinner, without inviting the wretched Serjeant: but in the latter end of the year, when the King's Judges were arraigned at the Old-Bailey, Norfolk warned me to attend, believing I could give information concerning Hugh Peters. At the ſeſſions I attended during its continuance, but was never

never called or examined. There I heard Harriſon, Scott, Clement, Peters, Hacker, Scroop, and others of the King's Judges, and Cook the Sollicitor, who excellently defended himſelf; I ſay, I did hear what they could ſay for themſelves, and after heard the ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt them by the incomparably modeſt and learned Judge Bridgman, now Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

One would think my troubles for that year had been ended; but in January 166$\frac{1}{2}$, one Everard, a Juſtice of Peace in Weſtminſter, ere I was ſtirring, ſent a Serjeant and thirty four muſqueteers for me to White-Hall: he had twice that night ſeized about ſixty perſons, ſuppoſed fanaticks, very deſpicable perſons, many whereof were aged, ſome were water-bearers, and had been Parliament-ſoldiers; others, of ordinary callings: all theſe were guarded unto White-Hall, into a large room, until day-light, and then committed to the Gate-Houſe: I was had into the guard-room, which I thought to be hell; ſome therein were ſleeping, others ſwearing, others ſmoaking tobacco. In the chimney of the room I believe there was two buſhels of broken tobacco-pipes, almoſt half one load of aſhes. Everard, about nine in the morn-

ing, comes, writes my mittimus for the Gate-Houſe, then ſhews it me: I muſt be contented. I deſired no other courteſy, but that I might be privately carried unto the Gate-Houſe by two ſoldiers; that was denied. Among the miſerable crew of people, with a whole company of ſoldiers, I marched to priſon, and there for three hours was in the open air upon the ground, where the common houſe of office came down. After three hours, I was advanced from this ſtinking place up the ſtairs, where there was on one ſide a company of rude ſwearing perſons; on the other ſide many Quakers, who lovingly entertained me. As ſoon as I was fixed, I wrote to my old friend Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, who preſently went to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and acquainted him with my condition. He ordered Sir Edward to write to Everard to releaſe me, unleſs he had any particular information againſt me, which he had not. He further ſaid, it was not his Majeſty's pleaſure that any of his ſubjects ſhould be thus had to priſon without good cauſe ſhewed before. Upon receipt of Sir Edward's letter, Everard diſcharged me, I taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. This day's work coſt me thirty ſeven ſhillings. Afterwards Everard ſtood to be Burgeſs for Weſtmin-

Weſtminſter, ſent me to procure him voices. I returned anſwer, that of all men living he deſerved no courteſy from me, nor ſhould have any.

In this year 1660, I ſued out my pardon under the Broad Seal of England, being ſo adviſed by good counſel, becauſe there ſhould be no obſtruction; I paſſed as William Lilly, Citizen and Salter of London; it coſt me thirteen pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

There happened a verification of an aſtrological judgment of mine in this year 1660, which becauſe it was predicted ſixteen years before it came to paſs, and the year expreſly nominated, I thought fit to mention.

In page 111. of my Prophetical Merlin, upon three ſextile Aſpects of Saturn and Jupiter, made in 1659 and 1660, I wrote thus—

'This their friendly ſalutation com-
'forts us in England, every man now
'poſſeſſes his own vineyard; our young
'youth grow up unto man's eſtate,
'and our old men live their full years;
'our nobles and gentlemen root again;
'our yeomanry, many years diſconſolated,
'now take pleaſure in their huſbandry.
'The merchant ſends out ſhips, and hath
'proſperous returns; the mechanick hath
'quick trading: Here is almoſt a new

'world; new laws, new Lords. Now 'my country of England ſhall ſhed no 'more tears, but rejoice with, and in 'the many bleſſings God gives or affords 'her annually.'

And in the ſame book, page 118, over-againſt the year 1660, you ſhall find, A Bonny Scot acts his part.

The long Parliament would give Charles the Second no other title than King of Scots.—

I alſo wrote to Sir Edward Walker, Kt. Garter King at Arms in 1659, he then being in Holland—

Tu, Dominuſq; veſter videbitis Angliam, infra duos Annos.—For in 1662, his moon came by direction to the body of the ſun.

But he came in upon the aſcendant directed unto the Trine of Sol and antiſcion of Jupiter.—

And happy it was for the nation he did come in, and long and proſperouſly may he reign amongſt us.

In 1663 and 1664, I had a long and tedious law-ſuit in Chancery, M. C. coming to Quartile of Saturn; and the occaſion of that ſuit, was concerning houſes; and my enemy, though aged, had no beard, was really ſaturnine. We came unto a hearing Feb. 166$\frac{3}{4}$, before the Maſter of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimſton,

Grimſton, where I had the victory, but no coſts given me.

My adverſary not ſatisfied with that judgment, petitioned that moſt juſt and honourable man the Lord Chancellor Hyde, for a re-hearing his cauſe before him.

It was granted, and the 13 June 1664, my M. C. then directed to Quartile of Venus and Sol. His Lordſhip moſt judiciouſly heard it with much attention, and when my adverſary's counſel had urged thoſe depoſitions which they had againſt me, his Lordſhip ſtood up, and ſaid, 'Here is not one word againſt Mr. 'Lilly.'—

I replied, 'My Lord, I hope I ſhall 'have coſts.'

'Very good reaſon,' ſaith he; and ſo I had: And, at my departure out of court, put off his hat, and bid God be with you.

This is the month of Dec. 1667, wherein, by misfortune, he is much traduced and highly perſecuted by his enemies: is alſo retired, however not in the leaſt queſtioned for any indirect judgment as as Chancellor, in the Chancery; [but in other things he hath been very foul, as in the articles drawn up by the Parliament againſt him, it appears. Which articles I pre-

I presume you have not seen, otherwise you would have been of another mind, A. W. for there was never any person sat in that place, who executed justice with more uprightness, or judgment, or quickness for dispatch, than this very noble Lord. God, I hope, in mercy will preserve his person from his enemies, and in good time restore him unto all his honours again: From my soul I wish it, and hope I shall live to see it. *Amen. Fiat oh tu Deus justitiæ.*

In 1663, and 1664, I was made churchwarden of Walton upon Thames, settling as well as I could the affairs of that distracted parish, upon my own charges; and upon my leaving the place, forgave them seven pounds odd money due unto me.

In 1664, I had another law-suit with Captain Colborn, Lord of the manor of Esher, concerning the rights of the parish of Walton. He had newly purchased that manor, and having one hundred and fifty acres of groundy formerly park and wood ground lying in our parish, conceived, he had right of common in our parish of Walton: Thereupon he puts three hundred sheep upon the common; part whereof I impounded: He replevins them, gave me a declaration. I answered it. The trial was to be

at

at the Aſſizes at Kingſton in April 1664. When the day of trial came, he had not one witneſs in his cauſe, I had many; whereupon upon conference, and by mediation, he gave me eleven pounds for my charges ſuſtained in that ſuit, whereof I returned him back again fifty ſhillings: forty ſhillings for himſelf, and ten ſhillings for the poor of the pariſh he lived in.

This I did at my own coſt and charges, not one pariſhioner joining with me. I had now M. C. unto Quartile of Venus and Sol—both in my ſecond, Ergo, I got money by this thing, or ſuit. Sir Bolſtrode Whitlock gave me counſel.

Now I come unto the year 1665, wherein that horrible and devouring plague ſo extreamly raged in the city of London. 27th of June 1665, I retired into the country to my wife and family, where ſince I have wholly continued, and ſo intend by permiſſion of God. I had, before I came away, very many people of the poorer ſort frequented my lodging, many whereof were ſo civil, as when they brought waters, *viz.* urines, from infected people, they would ſtand purpoſely at a diſtance. I ordered thoſe infected, and not like to die, cordials, and cauſed them to ſweat, whereby many recovered. My landlord of the houſe was afraid of thoſe poor people, I nothing at all,

all. He was desirous I should be gone. He had four children: I took them with me into the country and provided for them. Six weeks after I departed, he, his wife, and man-servant died of the plague.

In Monarchy or no Monarchy, printed 1651, I had framed an Hieroglyphick, which you may see in page the 7th, representing a great sickness and mortality; wherein you may see the representation of people in their winding-sheets, persons digging graves and sepultures, coffins, &c. All this was performed by the more secret Key of Astrology, or Prophetical Astrology.

In 1666, happened that miraculous conflagration in the city of London, whereby in four days, the most part thereof was consumed by fire. In my Monarchy or no Monarchy, the next side after the coffins, and pickaxes, there is representation of a great city all in flames of fire. The memorial whereof some Parliament men remembering, thought fit to send for me before that Committee which then did sit, for examination of the causes of the fire; and whether there was no treachery or design in the business, his Majesty being then in war both with the French and Dutch. The summons

to

to appear before that Committee was as followeth.

Monday, 22d October, 1666.

At the Committee appointed to enquire after the Cauſes of the late Fires.

ORDERED,

That Mr. Lilly do attend this Committee on Friday next being the 25th of October 1666, at two of the clock in the afternoon in the Speaker's chamber; to anſwer ſuch queſtions as ſhall be then and there aſked him.

ROBERT BROOKE.

By accident I was then in London, when the ſummons came unto me. I was timorous of Committees, being ever by ſome of them calumniated, upbraided, ſcorned, and derided. However I muſt and did appear; and let me never forget that great affection and care yourſelf (Oh moſt excellent and learned Eſquire Aſhmole) ſhewed unto me at that time. Firſt, your affection in going along with me all that day; ſecondly, your great pains and care, in ſpeaking unto many worthy Members of that Committee your acquaintance,

quaintance, that they ſhould befriend me, and not permit me to be affronted, or have any diſgraceful language caſt upon me. I muſt ſeriouſly acknowledge the perſuaſions ſo prevailed with thoſe generous ſouls, that I conceive there was never more civility uſed unto any than unto myſelf; and you know, there were no ſmall number of Parliament men appeared, when they heard I was to be there.

Sir Robert Brooke ſpoke to this purpoſe:

'Mr. Lilly, This Committee thought 'fit to ſummon you to appear before them 'this day, to know, if you can ſay any 'thing as to the cauſe of the late fire, or 'whether there might be any deſign 'therein. You are called the rather hi-'ther, becauſe in a book of yours long 'ſince printed, you hinted ſome ſuch thing 'by one of your Hieroglyphicks.' Unto which I replied,

May it pleaſe your Honours,

'After the beheading of the late King, 'conſidering that in the three ſubſequent 'years the Parliament acted nothing which 'concerned the ſettlement of the nation 'in peace; and ſeeing the generality of 'people diſſatisfied, the citizens of Lon-'don diſcontented, the ſoldiery prone to

'mutiny,

'mutiny, I was desirous, according to 'the best knowledge God had given me, 'to make enquiry by the art I studied, 'what might from that time happen unto 'the Parliament and nation in general. 'At last, having satisfied myself as well as 'I could, and perfected my judgment 'therein, I thought it most convenient 'to signify my intentions and conceptions 'thereof, in Forms, Shapes, Types, 'Hieroglyphicks, &c. without any com-'mentary, that so my judgment might 'be concealed from the vulgar, and made 'manifest only unto the wise, I herein 'imitating the examples of many wise 'philosophers who had done the like.'

'Sir Robert,' saith one, 'Lilly is yet '*sub vestibulo*.'

I proceeded further. Said I, 'Having 'found, Sir, that the city of London 'should be sadly afflicted with a great 'plague, and not long after with an 'exorbitant fire, I framed these two 'hieroglyphicks as represented in the 'book, which in effect have proved very 'true.'

'Did you foresee the year,' said one?

'I did not,' said I, 'or was desirous: 'of that I made no scrutiny.' I pro-ceeded——

'Now, Sir, whether there was any de-'sign of burning the city, or any em-

'ployed

'ployed to that purpoſe, I muſt deal in-
'genuouſly with you, that ſince the fire,
'I have aken much pains in the ſearch
'thereof, but cannot or could not give
'myſelf any the leaſt ſatisfaction there-
'in. I conclude, that it was the only
'finger of God; but what inſtruments
'he uſed thereunto, I am ignorant.'

The Committee ſeemed well pleaſed with what I ſpoke, and diſmiſſed me with great civility.

Since which time no memorable action hath happened unto me, my retirement impeding all concourſe unto me.

I have many things more to communicate, which I ſhall do, as they offer themſelves to memory.

In *Anno* 1634, and 1635, I had much familiarity with John Hegenius, Doctor of Phyſick, a Dutchman, an excellent ſcholar and an able phyſician, not meanly verſed in aſtrology. Unto him, for his great civility, I communicated the art of framing Sigils, Lamens, &c. and the uſe of the Moſaical Rods:—and we did create ſeveral Sigils to very good purpoſe. I gave him the true key thereof, *viz.* inſtructed him of their forms, characters, words, and laſt of all, how to give them vivification, and what number or numbers were appropriated to every planet:

net: *Cum multis aliis in libris veterum latentibus; aut perſpicuè non intellectis.*

I was well acquainted with the Speculator of John a Windor, a ſcrivener, ſometimes living in Newbury. This Windor was club-fiſted, wrote with a pen betwixt both his hands. I have ſeen many bonds and bills wrote by him. He was much given to debauchery, ſo that at ſome times the Dæmons would not appear to the Speculator; he would then ſuffumigate: ſometimes, to vex the ſpirits, he would curſe them, fumigate with contraries. Upon his examination before Sir Henry Wallop, Kt. which I have ſeen, he ſaid, he once viſited Dr. Dee in Mortlack; and out of a book that lay in the window, he copied out that call which he uſed, when he invocated——

It was that—which near the beginning of it hath theſe words,

Per virtutem illorum qui invocant nomen tuum,
Hermeli—*mitte nobis tres Angelos, &c.*

Windor had many good parts, but was a moſt lewd perſon: My maſter Wright knew him well, and having dealing in thoſe parts, made uſe of him as a ſcrivener.

Oliver Withers, ſervant to Sir H. Wallop, brought up a Windor's examination

unto London, purpoſely for me to peruſe. This Withers was Mr. Fiſke's ſcholar three years more or leſs, to learn aſtrology of him; but being never the wiſer, Fiſke brought him unto me: by ſhewing him but how to judge one figure, his eyes were opened: He made the Epiſtle before Dr. Neve's book, now in Mr. Sander's hands, was very learned in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues.

Having mentioned Dr. John Dee, I hold it not impertinent to ſpeak ſomething of him; but more eſpecially of Edward Kelly's Speculator.

Dr. Dee himſelf was a Cambro Briton, educated in the univerſity of Oxford, there took his degree of Doctor; afterwards for many years in ſearch of the profounder ſtudies, travelled into foreign parts: to be ſerious, he was Queen Elizabeth's intelligencer, and had a ſalary for his maintenance from the Secretaries of State. He was a ready witted man, quick of apprehenſion, very learned, and of great judgment in the Latin and Greek tongues. He was a very great inveſtigator of the more ſecret Hermetical learning, a perfect aſtronomer, a curious aſtrologer, a ſerious geometrician; to ſpeak truth, he was excellent in all kinds of learning.

With

With all this, he was the moſt ambitious perſon living, and moſt deſirous of fame and renown, and was never ſo well pleaſed as when he heard himſelf ſtiled, Moſt Exellent.

He was ſtudious in chymiſtry, and attained to good perfection therein; but his ſervant, or rather companion, Kelly, out-went him, *viz.* about the Elixir or Philoſopher's Stone; which neither Kelly or Dee attained by their own labour and induſtry. It was in this manner Kelly obtained it, as I had it related from an ancient miniſter, who knew the certainty thereof from an old Engliſh merchant, reſident in Germany, at what time both Kelly and Dee were there.

Dee and Kelly being in the confines of the Emperor's dominions, in a city where reſided many Engliſh merchants, with whom they had much familiarity, there happened an old Friar to come to Dr. Dee's lodging. Knocking at the door, Dee peeped down the ſtairs. 'Kelly,' ſays he, 'tell the old man I am not at 'home.' Kelly did ſo. The Friar ſaid, 'I 'will take another time to wait on him.' Some few days after, he came again. Dee ordered Kelly, if it were the ſame perſon, to deny him again. He did ſo; at which the Friar was very angry. 'Tell

'thy maſter I came to ſpeak with him and 'to do him good, becauſe he is a great 'ſcholar and famous; but now tell him, 'he put forth a book, and dedicated it to 'the Emperor: it is called Monas Hiero-'gliphicas. He underſtands it not. I 'wrote it myſelf, I came to inſtruct him 'therein, and in ſome other more pro-'found things. Do thou, Kelly, come 'along with me, I will make thee more 'famous than thy maſter Dee.'

Kelly was very apprehenſive of what the Friar delivered, and thereupon ſuddenly retired from Dee, and wholly applied unto the Friar; and of him either had the Elixir ready made, or the perfect method of its preparation and making. The poor Friar lived a very ſhort time after; whether he died a natural death, or was otherwiſe poiſoned or made away by Kelly, the merchant who related this, did not certainly know.

How Kelly died afterwards at Prague, you well know: he was born at Worceſter, had been an apothecary. Not above thirty years ſince he had a ſiſter lived in Worceſter, who had ſome gold made by her brother's projection.

Dr. Dee died at Mortlack in Surrey, very poor, enforced many times to ſell ſome book or other to buy his dinner with, as Dr. Napier of Linford in Buckinghamſhire

inghamſhire oft related, who knew him very well.

I have read over his book of Conference with Spirits, and thereby perceive many weakneſſes in the manage of that way of Moſaical learning: but I conceive, the reaſon why he had not more plain reſolutions, and more to the purpoſe, was, becauſe Kelly was very vicious, unto whom the angels were not obedient, or willingly did declare the queſtions propounded; but I could give other reaſons, but thoſe are not for paper.

I was very familiar with one Sarah Skelhorn, who had been Speculatrix unto one Arthur Gauntlet about Gray's-Inn-Lane, a very lewd fellow, profeſſing phyſick. This Sarah had a perfect ſight, and indeed the beſt eyes for that purpoſe I ever yet did ſee. Gauntlet's books, after he was dead, were ſold, after I had peruſed them, to my ſcholar Humphreys: there were rare notions in them. This Sarah lived a long time, even until her death, with one Mrs. Stockman in the Iſle of Purbeck, and died about ſixteen years ſince. Her miſtreſs one time being deſirous to accompany her mother, the Lady Beconsfield, unto London, who lived twelve miles from her habitation, cauſed Sarah to inſpect her cryſtal, to ſee if ſhe, *viz.* her mother, was gone,

yea or not; the angels appeared, and ſhewed her mother opening a trunk, and taking out a red waiſtcoat, whereby ſhe perceived ſhe was not gone. Next day ſhe went to her mother's, and there, as ſhe entered the chamber, ſhe was opening a trunk, and had a red waiſtcoat in her hand. Sarah told me oft, the angels would for ſome years follow her, and appear in every room of the houſe, until ſhe was weary of them.

This Sarah Skelhorn, her call unto the cryſtal began,

'Oh ye good angels, only and only,' &c.

Ellen Evans, daughter of my tutor Evans, her call unto the cryſtal was this:

O Micol, O tu Micol, regina pigmeorum veni, &c.

Since I have related of the Queen of Fairies, I ſhall acquaint you, that it is not for every one, or every perſon that theſe angelical creatures will appear unto, though they may ſay over the call, over and over, or indeed is it given to very many perſons to endure their glorious aſpects; even very many have failed juſt at that preſent when they are ready to manifeſt themſelves; even perſons otherwiſe of undaunted ſpirits and firm reſolution, are herewith aſtoniſhed, and tremble; as it happened not many years ſince with us. A very ſober diſcreet perſon, of virtuous life

life and converſation, was beyond meaſure deſirous to ſee ſomething in this nature. He went with a friend into my Hurſt Wood: the Queen of Fairies was invocated, a gentle murmuring wind came firſt; after that, amongſt the hedges, a ſmart whirlwind; by and by a ſtrong blaſt of wind blew upon the face of the friend,—and the Queen appearing in a moſt illuſtrious glory, 'No more, I beſeech you,' (quoth the friend:) 'My heart fails; I am not 'able to endure longer.' Nor was he: his black curling hair roſe up, and I believe a bullruſh would have beat him to the ground: he was ſoundly laughed at, &c.

Sir Robert Holborn, Knight, brought once unto me (*a*) Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had ſight and conference with Uriel and Raphael, but loſt them both by careleſſneſs; ſo that neither of them both would but rarely appear, and then preſently be gone, reſolving nothing. He would have given me two hundred pounds to have aſſiſted him for their recovery, but I am no ſuch man.—Thoſe glorious creatures, if well commanded, and well obſerved, do teach the maſter

(*a*) Mr. Gilbert Wakering gave him his beril when he died; it was of the largeneſs of a good big orange, ſet in ſilver, with a croſs on the top, and another on the handle, and round about engraved the names of theſe angels, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel.

any thing he desires; *Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta.* The Fairies love the southern side of hills, mountains, groves.—Neatness and cleanliness in apparel, a strict diet, an upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious these ways.

It hath been my happiness to meet with many rarities in my time unexpectedly. I had a sister lived in the Minories, in that very house where formerly had lived one Evans, not my tutor, but another far exceeding him in astrology, and all other occult learning, questioned for his life about 1612. I am sure it was when the present Earl of Manchester's father was Lord Chief Justice of England. He was found guilty by a peevish Jury; but petitioning King James by a Greek petition, as indeed he was an excellent Grecian; 'By my saul,' said King James, 'this man shall not 'die; I think he is a better Grecian 'than any of my Bishops:' so his life was spared, &c. My sister's master when new modelling the house, broke up a window, under which were Evans's secret manuscripts, and two moulds in brass; one of a man, the other of a woman. I bought the moulds and (*a*) book for

(*a*) From these manuscripts he gained his first knowledge.

five

five ſhillings; the ſecrets were wrote in an imperfect Greek character; but after I found the vowels, all the reſt were preſently clear enough.

You ſee, moſt worthy Sir, I write freely; it is out of the ſincerity of my affection, many things wrote by me having been more fit for a ſepulture than a book: But,

Quo major eſt virorum præſtantium, tui ſimilium inopia; eo mihi charior eſt, & eſſe debet & amicitia tua: Quam quidem omnibus officiis, & ſtudiis, quæ a ſumma benevolentia poſſunt, perpetuò colam. However, who ſtudy the curioſities before-named, if they are not very well verſed in aſtrology, they ſhall rarely attain their deſired ends. There was, in the late times of troubles, one Mortlack, who pretended unto Speculations, had a cryſtal, a call of Queen Mab, one of the Queen of Fairies; he deluded many thereby: at laſt I was brought into his company; he was deſired to make invocation, he did ſo; nothing appeared, or would: three or four times in my company he was put upon to do the work, but could not; at laſt he ſaid he could do nothing as long as I was in preſence. I at laſt ſhewed him his error, but left him as I found him, a pretended ignoramus.

I may

I may ſeem to ſome to write incredibilia; be it ſo, but knowing unto whom, and for whoſe only ſake, I do write them, I am much comforted therewith, well knowing you are the moſt knowing man in theſe curioſities of any now living in England; and therefore it is my hope, theſe will be a preſent well-becoming you to accept.

Præclara omnia quam difficilia ſint, his præſertim temporibus. (*Celeberrimè Armiger,*) *non te fugit*; and therefore I will acquaint you with one memorable ſtory related unto me by Mr. John Marr, an excellent mathematician and geometrician, whom I conceive you remember: he was ſervant to King James and Charles the Firſt.

At firſt, when the Lord Napier, or Marchiſton made publick his Logarithms, Mr. Briggs, then reader of the aſtronomy lecture at Greſham-College in London, was ſo ſurprized with admiration of them, that he could have no quietneſs in himſelf, until he had ſeen that noble perſon the Lord Marchiſton, whoſe only invention they were: he acquaints John Marr herewith, who went into Scotland before Mr. Briggs, purpoſely to be there when theſe two ſo learned perſons ſhould meet. Mr. Briggs appoints a certain day when to meet at Edinburgh: but failing thereof, the Lord Napier was doubtful he would

would not come. It happened one day as John Marr and the Lord Napier were ſpeaking of Mr. Briggs; 'Ah, John,' ſaith Marchiſton, 'Mr. Briggs will not 'now come:' at the very inſtant one knocks at the gate; John Marr haſted down, and it proved Mr. Briggs, to his great contentment. He brings Mr. Briggs up into my Lord's chamber, where almoſt one quarter of an hour was ſpent, each beholding other almoſt with admiration, before one word was ſpoke: at laſt Mr. Briggs began.

'My Lord, I have undertaken this 'long journey purpoſely to ſee your per-'ſon, and to know by what engine of 'wit or ingenuity you came firſt to think 'of this moſt excellent help unto aſtro-'nomy, *viz.* the Logarithms; but, my 'Lord, being by you found out, I won-'der no body elſe found it out before, 'when now known, it is ſo eaſy.' He was nobly entertained by the Lord Napier, and every ſummer after that, during the Lord's being alive, this venerable man, Mr. Briggs, went purpoſely into Scotland to viſit him. *Tempora mutantur.*

Theſe two perſons were worthy men in their time; and yet the one, *viz.* Lord Marchiſton, was a great lover of aſtrology, but Briggs the moſt ſatirical man againſt it that hath been known: but the reaſon

reaſon hereof I conceive was, that Briggs was a ſevere Preſbyterian, and wholly converſant with perſons of that judgment; whereas the Lord Marchiſton was a general ſcholar, and deeply read in all divine and human hiſtories: it is the ſame Marchiſton who made that moſt ſerious and learned expoſition upon the Revelation of St. John; which is the beſt that ever yet appeared in the world.

Thus far proceeded Mr. William Lilly in ſetting down the account of his life, with ſome other things of note. Now ſhall be added ſomething more which afterwards happened during his retirement at his houſe at Herſham, until his death.

He left London in the year 1665, (as he hath before noted) and betook himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſick; in which, having arrived at a competent degree of knowledge, aſſiſted by diligent obſervation and practice, he deſired his old friend Mr. Aſhmole, to obtain of his Grace Dr. Sheldon, then Lord Achbiſhop of Canterbury, a licenſe for the practice of phyſick; which upon application to his Grace, and producing a teſtimonial [October 8. 1670,] under the hands of two phyſicians of the college in London, on Mr. Lilly's behalf, he moſt readily granted, in the manner following, *viz.* 'GIL-

'GILBERTUS Providentia Divina
'Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus totius An-
'gliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, Dilecto
'nobis in Chriſto GULIELMO LILLY
'in Medicinis Profeſſori, Salutem, gra-
'tiam, & benedictionem. Cum ex fide
'digna relatione acceperimus Te in arte
'ſive facultate Medicinæ per non modi-
'cum tempus verſatum fuiſſe, multiſ-
'que de ſalute & ſanitate corporis verè de-
'ſperatis (Deo Omnipotente adjuvante)
'ſubveniſſe, eoſq; ſanaſſe, nec non in
'arte predictà multorum peritorum lau-
'dabili teſtimonio pro experientia, fideli-
'tate, diligentia & induſtria tuis circa
'curas quas ſuſceperis peragendas in hu-
'juſmodi Arte Medicinæ meritò commen-
'datum eſſe, ad practicandum igitur &
'exercendum dictam Artem Medicinæ in,
'& per totam Provinciam noſtram Cant'
'(Civitate Lond' & circuitu ſeptem mil-
'liarum eidem prox' adjacen' tantummodò
'exceptis) ex cauſis prædictis & aliis nos
'in hac per te juſtè moventibus, præſtito
'primitus per Te Juramento de agnoſ-
'cendo Regiam ſuprema potestatem in
'cauſis eccleſiaſticis & temporalibus ac
'de renunciando, refutando, & recuſando
'omni, & omnimodæ Juriſdictioni, Pote-
'ſtati, Authoritati & Superioritati fora-
'neis juxta vim formam & effectum Sta-
'tui Parliamenti hujus Inclyti Regni
'Angliæ

'Angliæ in ea parte editi & provisi quantum nobis per Statuta hujus Regni 'Angliæ licéat & non aliter neque alio 'modo Te admittimus & approbamus, 'Tibiq; Licentiam & Facultatem noſtras 'in hâc parte, Tenore præſentium quamdiu Te benè & laudabiliter geſſeris benignè concedimus & elargimur. In 'cujus rei Teſtimonium Sigillum (quo 'in hâc parte utimur) præſentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. Undecimo Die 'Menſis Octobris, Anno Domini 1670. 'Noſtræque Tranſlationis Anno Octavo.'

Sigillum { Radulph. Snowe / ET / Edm. Sherman } Regiſtrarii.

S. Rich. Lloyd, Sur.

Vicarii in Spiritualibus Generalis per Provinciam Cantuarienſem.

Hereupon he began to practiſe more openly, and with good ſucceſs; and every Saturday rode to Kingſton, where the poorer ſort flockt to him from ſeveral parts, and received much benefit by his advice and preſcriptions, which he gave them freely, and without money. From thoſe that were more able, he now and then

then received a ſhilling, and ſometimes an half crown, if they offered it to him, otherwiſe he demanded nothing; and, in truth, his charity towards poor people was very great, no leſs than the care and pains he took in conſidering and weighing their particular caſes, and applying proper remedies to their infirmities, which gained him extraordinary credit and eſtimation.

He was of a ſtrong conſtitution, and continued generally in good health, till the 16th of Auguſt 1674, when a violent humour diſcovered itſelf in red ſpots all over his body, with little puſhes in his head. This, in the winter [18 December] following, was ſeconded by a diſtemper whereof he fell ſick, and was let blood in the left foot, a little above the ancle.

The 20th of December following, a humour deſcended from his head to his left ſide, from eight o'clock at night till the next morning; and then ſtaying a while in the calf of his leg, at length deſcended towards his toes, the anguiſh whereof put him into a fever. This humour fixed in two places on the top of his left foot (one in that where he was let blood two days before) which (upon application of pledgets) growing ripe, they were [28 Dec.] lanced by Mr. Agar of Kingſton, his apothecary (and no leſs a

ſkilful

ſkilful Surgeon:) after which he began to be at eaſe, his fever abated, and within five months the cure was perfected.

The 7th of November 1675, he was taken with a violent fit of vomiting for ſome hours, to which a fever ſucceeded, that continued four months: This brought his body exceeding low, together with a dimneſs in his eyes, which after occaſioned him to make uſe of Mr. Henry Coley, as his amanuenſis, to tranſcribe (from his dictates) his aſtrological judgments for the year 1677; but the monthly obſervations for that year, were written with his own hand ſome time before, though by this time he was grown very dimſighted. His judgments and obſervations for the ſucceeding years, till his death, (ſo alſo for the year 1682,) were all compoſed by his directions, Mr. Coley coming to Hertham the beginning of every ſummer, and ſtayed there, till, by conference with him, he had diſpatched them for the preſs; to whom, at theſe opportunities, he communicated his way of judgment, and other aſtrological arcana's.

In the beginning of the year 1681, he had a flux, which weakened him much, yet after ſome time his ſtrength encreaſed; but now his ſight was wholly taken from him,

him, not having any glimmering as formerly.

He had dwelt many years at Herſham, where his charity and kindneſs to his poor neighbours was always great and hearty; and the 20th of May 1681, towards the evening, a dead palſy began to ſeize his left ſide. The ſecond of June, towards evening, he took his bed, and then his tongue began to falter. The next day he became very dull and heavy: ſometimes his ſenſes began to fail him. Henceforward he took little or nothing, for his larinx ſwelled, and that impeded his ſwallowing.

The fourth of June, Mr. Aſhmole went to viſit him, and found he knew him, but ſpake little, and ſome of that ſcarce intelligible; for the palſy began now to ſeize upon his tongue.

The eighth of June he lay in a great agony, inſomuch that the ſweat followed drop after drop, which he bore with wonderful courage and patience (as indeed he did all his ſickneſs) without complaint; and about three o'clock the next morning, he died, without any ſhew of trouble or pangs. Immediately before his breath went from him, he ſneezed three times.

He had often, in his life-time, deſired Mr. Aſhmole to take care of his funeral, and now his widow deſired the

ſame: whereupon Mr. Aſhmole obtained leave from Sir Mathew Andrews (who had the parſonage of Walton) to bury him in the chancel of that church.

The 10th of June, his coarſe was brought thither, and received by the miniſter (in his ſurplice) at the Litch-Gates, who, paſſing before the body into the church, read the firſt part of the Office for the Burial of the Dead. In the reading deſk he ſaid all the evening ſervice, and after performed the reſt of the office (as eſtabliſhed by law) in the chancel, at the interment, which was about eight o'clock in the evening, on the left ſide of the communion table, Mr. Aſhmole aſſiſting at the laying him in his grave; whereupon afterwards [9 July 1681.] he placed a fair black marble ſtone, (which coſt him ſix pounds four ſhillings and ſix pence) with this inſcription following.

Ne Oblivione conteretur Urna
GULIELMI LILLII
ASTROLOGI PERITISSIMI,
QUI FATIS CESSIT
Quinto Idus Junii Anno Chriſti Juliano
MDCLXXXI.
Hoc Illi poſuit amoris Monumentum
ELIAS ASHMOLE,
ARMIGER.

Shortly after his death, Mr. Aſhmole bought his library of books of Mrs. Ruth Lilly, (his widow and executrix) for fifty pounds: he oft times, in his life-time, expreſſed, that if Mr. Aſhmole would give that ſum, he ſhould have them.

The following Epitaphs (Latin and Engliſh) were made by George Smalridge, then a ſcholar at Weſtminſter, after Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

In Mortem Viri Doctiſſimi Domini GULIELMI LILLY, Aſtrologi, nuper defuncti.

OCcidit atque ſuis annalibus addidit atram
Aſtrologus, quâ non triſtior ulla, diem
Pone triumphales, lugubris Luna, quadrigas;
Sol mæſtum piceâ nube reconde caput.
Illum, qui Phœbi ſcripſit, Phœbeſq; labores
Eclipſin docuit Stella maligna pati.
Invidia Aſtrorum cecidit, qui Sidera rexit
Tanta erat in notas ſcandere cura domos.
Quod vidit, viſum cupiit, potiturq; cupito
Cœlo, & Sidereo fulget in orbe decus.
Scilicet hoc nobis præſixit ab ane Cometa,
Et fati emicuit nuncia Stella tui
Fallentem vidi faciem gemituq; videndo
Illa fuit vati mortis imago ſuo,
Civilis timuere alii primordia belli
Jejunam metuit plebs ſtupefata famem
Non tantos tulerat bellumve fameſve dolores:
Auſpiciis eſſent hæc relevanda tuis.
In cautam ſubitus plebem nunc opprimat enſis,
Securos fati mors violenta trahat.
Nemo eſt qui videat moneatq; avertere fatum,
Ars jacet in Domini funera merſa ſui

Solus naturæ reservare arcana solebat,
Solus & ambiguæ solvere jura poli.
Lustrâsti cunctes benè finâ mente Planetas
Conspectum latuit stellata nulla tuum
Defessos oculos pensârunt lumina mentis
Firesias oculis, mentibus Argus eras.
Cernere, Firesia, poteras ventura, sed, Arge,
In fatum haud poteras sat vigil esse tuum
Sed vivit nomen semper cum sole vigebit,
Immemor Astrologi non erit ulla dies
Sæcla canent laudes, quas si percurrere cones,
Arte opus est, Stellas quâ numerare soles.
Hæreat hoc carmen cinerum custodibus urnis,
Hospes quod spargens marmora rore legat.
" Hic situs est, dignus nunquam cecidisse Propheta;
" Fatorum interpres fata inopina subit.
" Versari æthereo dum vixit in orbe solebat:
" Nunc humilem jactat Terra superba virum.
" Sed Cœlum metitur adhuc resupinus in urnâ
" Vertitur in solitos palpebra clausa polos.
" Huic busto invigilant solenni lampade Musæ,
" Perpetuo nubes imbre sepulchra rigant.
" Ille oculis movit distantia sidera nostris,
" Illam amota oculis traxit ad astra Deus."

An ELEGY upon the Death of WILLIAM LILLY the Astrologer.

OUR Prophet's gone; no longer may our ears
Be charm'd with musick of th' harmonious spheres.
Let sun and moon withdraw, leave gloomy night
To shew their NUNCIO's fate, who gave more light
To th' erring world, than all the feeble rays
Of sun or moon; taught us to know those days
Bright TITAN makes; follow'd the hasty sun
Through all his circuits; knew th' unconstant moon,
And more unconstant ebbings of the flood;
And what is most uncertain, th' factious brood,

Flowing

Flowing in civil broils by the heavens could date
The flux and reflux of our dubious state.
He saw the eclipse of sun, and change of moon
He saw, but seeing would not shun his own.
Eclips'd he was, that he might shine more bright,
And only chang'd to give a fuller light.
He having view'd the sky, and glorious train
Of gilded stars, scorn'd longer to remain
In earthly prisons; could he a village love,
Whom the twelve houses waited for above?
The grateful stars a heavenly mansion gave
T' his heavenly soul, nor could he live a slave
To mortal passions, whose immortal mind,
Whilst here on earth, was not to earth confin'd.
He must be gone, the stars had so decreed;
As he of them, so they of him, had need.
This message 'twas the blazing comet brought;
I saw the pale-fac'd star, and seeing thought
(For we could guess, but only LILLY knew)
It did some glorious hero's fall foreshew:
A hero's fall'n, whose death, more than a war,
Or fire, desery'd a comet: th' obsequious star,
Could do no less than his sad fate unfold,
Who had their risings, and their settings told.
Some thought a plague, and some a famine near;
Some wars from France, some fires at home did fear:
Nor did they fear too much: scarce kinder fate,
But plague of plagues befall th' unhappy state
When LILLY died. Now swords may safely come
From France or Rome, fanaticks plot at home,
Now an unseen, and unexpected hand,
By guidance of ill stars, may hurt our land;
Unlaw, because secure, there's none to show
How England may avert the fatal blow.
He's dead, whose death the weeping clouds deplore
I wish we did not owe to him that show'r
Which long expected was, and might have still
Expected been, had not our nation's ill
Drawn from the heavens a sympathetick tear:
England hath cause a second draught to fear.
We have no second LILLY, who may die,
And by his death may make the heavens cry.

Then let your annals, COLEX, want this day,
Think every year leap-year; or if 't muſt ſtay,
Cloath it in black; let a ſad note ſtand by,
And ſtigmatize it to poſterity.

Here follows the Copy of an Indictment filed againſt Mr. Lilly, for which ſee Page 104 of his Life.

THE jurors for the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, &c. upon their oaths do preſent, that William Lilly, late of the Pariſh of St. Clements Danes, in the County of Middleſex, Gent. not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and ſeduced by the inſtigation of the devil, the 10th day of July, in the Year of our Lord, 1654, at the Pariſh aforeſaid, in the County aforeſaid, wickedly, unlawfully and deceitfully, did take upon him, the ſaid William Lilly, by inchantment, charm and ſorcery, to tell and declare to one Anne Eaſt, the wife of Alexander Eaſt, where ten waiſtcoats, of the value of five pounds, of the goods and chattels of the ſaid Alexander Eaſt, then lately before loſt and ſtolen from the ſaid Alexander Eaſt, ſhould be found and become; and two ſhillings and ſixpence in monies numbred, of the monies of the

ſaid Alexander, from the ſaid Anne Eaſt, then and there unlawfully and deceitfully, he, the ſaid William Lilly, did take, receive, and had, to tell and declare to her the ſaid Anne, where the ſaid goods, ſo loſt and ſtolen as aforeſaid, ſhould be found and become: And alſo that he, the ſaid William Lilly, on the ſaid tenth day of July, in the Year of our Lord, 1654, and divers other days and times, as well before as afterwards, at the ſaid Pariſh aforeſaid, in the County aforeſaid, unlawfully and deceitfully did take upon him, the ſaid William Lilly, by enchantment, charm and ſorcery, to tell and declare to divers other perſons, to the ſaid jurors, yet unknown, where divers goods, chattels and things of the ſaid perſons yet unknown, there lately before loſt and ſtolen from the ſaid perſons yet unknown, ſhould be found and become; and divers ſums of monies of the ſaid perſons yet unknown, then and there unlawfully and deceitfully, he the ſaid William Lilly did take, receive, and had, to tell and declare to the ſaid perſons yet unknown, where their goods, chattels and things, ſo loſt and ſtolen, as aforeſaid, ſhould be found and become, in contempt of the laws of England, to the great damage and deceit of the ſaid Alexander and Anne, and of the ſaid other

persons yet unknown, to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending, against the form of the statute in this case made and provided, and against the publick peace, &c.

ANNE EAST,
EMME SPENCER,
JANE GOLD,
KATHERINE ROBERTS,
SUSANNAH HULINGE.

SEVERAL

SEVERAL

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

CHARLES I.

LATE

KING OF ENGLAND.

SEVERAL

TO THE

OBSERVATIONS

READER.

UPON THE

BY the enſuing diſcourſe, I ſhall draw down upon me the malevolent influence of a number of people; with whole malice being already acquainted, I care the leſs: I can fall no lower than the earth; and whoever thruſts me down ſooner than nature intended, muſt follow me ſooner than he would be willing.

An impudent pick-eared Prelbyterian Prieſt, rencounters me one day. 'Now 'Lilly, what ſay you Mr. Merlinus unto 'Charles the ſon of Charles the Prelent 'Scotiſh King; he'll pull the rebels out of 'White-Hall by the ears.' After a little modeſt ſcolding, the man was calm, and I promiſed ſilence as to his name, &c. I cannot

TO THE

READER.

BY the enſuing diſcourſe, I ſhall draw down upon me the malevolent influence of a number of people; with whoſe malice being already acquainted, I care the leſs: I can fall no lower than the earth; and whoever thruſts me down ſooner than nature intended, muſt follow me ſooner than he would be willing.

An impudent prick-eared Preſbyterian Prieſt, rencounters me one day. 'Now 'Lilly, what ſay you Mr. Merlinus unto 'Charles, the ſon of Charles the preſent 'Scotiſh King; he'll pull the rebels out of 'White-Hall by the ears.' After a little modeſt ſcolding, the man was calm, and I promiſed ſilence as to his name, &c. I cannot

cannot wash the Blackmoor white: these woeful Priests have so hardned their hearts against this State, pipe I never so melodiously unto them, or though the Parliament act never so wisely and prudently for our and their goods, they will rebel against the State, and envy me.

If any busy-body object, it's besides my task to write the life of the late King; I say, no: I could do no less. I have no way injured him; there is nothing I mention of him which I had not from those persons of credit, who either saw the actions done, or heard with their ears the words delivered. I have rather been sparing than lavish, even when I mention his worst or foulest actions: there are hundreds alive, who will swear I have more balsam than corrosive in the discourse. I would be sorry to belie the dead, as Mr. Fuller hath Paracelsus, who delivers him unto posterity for a drunkard, though those * who lived with him, knew no such thing by him, but report him virtuous. But that Mr. Fuller may know he hath wantonly abused his oratory, I let the ages to come know thus much of himself, viz. That he took the Covenant

* Bishop of Saltburg.

twice

twice for the Parliament, before my face in the Savoy Church, invited others unto it; yet, Apoſtate-like, ran within few days to Oxford, and there whined to his companions, and proteſted, the Counteſs of R. made him take it. 'Let not thy 'jeſts, like mummy, be made of dead 'mens fleſh. Abuſe not any that are 'departed; for to wrong their memo-'ries, is to rob their ghoſts of their 'winding-ſheets *.' And yet this man muſt call Paracelſus a quackſalver, and give him beſides, other Billingſgate language. Doctor Charlton † ſtiles Paracelſus the ornament of Germany, &c. Let the world and writings of the man judge of the truth of Mr. Fuller's ſcurvy language.

I'll apologize for nothing I have now writ; only, if in 1644 I differ ſomewhat from what I now write about the White King and Eagle; I can ſay for myſelf, 'later counſels ever correct the form-'er;' and that's anſwer enough. Beſides, the White King's tragedy is now acted, it was then on the ſtage. Long live the Parliament; God bleſs the Army; all

* Says Thomas Fuller in his Holy State, page 156.
† In his Mag. cure of wounds, page 30.

hap-

happineſs unto the Commonwealth, and unto all my diſperſed friends in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Adieu, I am,

Corner-houſe, over againſt Strand-Bridge, July 23. 1651.

WILLIAM LILLY.

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
KING CHARLES I.

CHARLES STUART, late King of England, was born at Dumferlin in Scotland, about fifteen miles from Edinburgh, November 19, 1600. He lived forty eight years, and about seventy two days. He died in the beginning of his climacterical year, fatal many times where killing directions in the nativity threaten. Several characters are given of him; some do too much magnify him, others as much vilify him. He was well educated by his father under careful tutors, men of great knowledge in all manner of qualities, fit for education of princes; and came to the crown being,

being aged twenty-four years and about four months, even in the flower of his age. Of his infancy we have little to mention, only he was noted to be very wilful and obſtinate by Queen Anne his mother, and ſome others who then were about him. His mother being told he was very ſick and like to die, ſaid, He would not then die, or at that time, but live to be the ruin of himſelf, and the occaſion of the loſs of his three Kingdoms, by his too much wilfulneſs: A ſad prediction from a mother, who moſt entirely loved him; but it proved very true in the ſequel. Some affirm ſhe had that foreſight of his condition from a ſtranger, who had not only great judgment in nativities, but in the more ſecret learning; others, that one Engliſh, a Scot, informed her thereof firſt. Queen Anne may be thought to have the ſpirit of prophecy in judging ſo rightly on her ſon and daughter; for ſhe ſo much ſcorned and undervalued the Palſgrave for a huſband unto the Lady Elizabeth, that in moſt of her language after and before the marriage, ſhe would call her Goodwife Palſgrave; a name and title ſhe thought good enough for any woman ſhould marry that dull and unfortunate man: and indeed her fears and predictions proved moſt true. The old Scotiſh Lady his nurſe was uſed to

affirm as much, and that he was of a very evil nature even in his infancy; and the lady, who after took charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond measure wilful, and unthankful: Yet while he was young, he followed his book seriously, which his elder brother Prince Henry could not endure; and therefore King James would frequently blame Prince Henry with the neglect of his book, and tell him how his brother Charles followed it; whereupon the Prince would reply, when that he himself should be King, he would make his brother Charles Archbishop of Canterbury. And to speak truly of him, he had many singular parts in nature; he was an excellent horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular skill in limning and pictures, a good mathematician, not unskilful in musick, well read in divinity, excellently in history, and no less in the laws and statutes of this nation; he had a quick and sharp conception, would write his mind singularly well, and in good language and stile, only he loved long Parentheses. He would apprehend a matter in difference betwixt party and party with great readiness, and methodise a long matter, or contract it in few lines: insomuch as I have heard Sir Robert Holborne oft say, he had a quicker conception, and would

ſooner underſtand a caſe in law, or with more ſharpneſs drive a matter unto a head, than any of his Privy Council; inſomuch, that when the King was not at the Council Table, Sir Robert never cared to be there. He had alſo, amongſt other his ſpecial gifts, the gift of patience; inſomuch, that if any offered him a long diſcourſe or ſpeech, he would with much patience, and without any interruption or diſtaſte, hear a ſpeech or ſtory out at length; but then he would expect the ſame civility from others. He was a great admirer of his Queen (if he diſſembled not), very uxorious, ſeldom denying her any requeſt, and for her ſake was very civil to the old Queen of France her mother. The height of his affection unto the Queen, fully you may perceive in thoſe tranſcendent expreſſions of his, in letters ſent unto her, the copies whereof were intercepted at Naſeby, and ſince printed; his concluſion being always, "Thine eternally," or, "Farewel dear "heart."

He communicated his weightieſt, and moſt private deſigns unto her; nay, there was very little of any moment, but ſhe was adviſed with concerning it: and yet, what reaſon the Queen knew to the contrary, I could not learn, but ſhe more than

than once twitted him in the teeth with diſſembling, &c. a quality which indeed he was as ſufficiently maſter of as any man living, and which queſtionleſs he had partly from his father, and partly from the climate he was born in, *viz.* Scotland. An indulgent father, careful, if not too covetous to have provided patrimonies for his children; for he would often ſay, when ſome beggarly courtier propounded a monopoly or project unto him, affirming it would produce unto his coffers ſo many thouſand pounds a year, or much increaſe his revenue; he would preſently ſend for the Judges, or ſome of his Counſel at Law, and if they affirmed and conſented he might by law grant the thing deſired, he often would ſay, 'He knew no reaſon, but that he 'might grant the matter in queſtion, 'ſith the thing itſelf was juſt and law-'ful, for he had many children to pro-'vide for.' Before the wars he was a great enemy to bloodſhed, or wilful murder, inſomuch, that when one Stamford had in an inſurrection in Fleet-ſtreet, killed a man, he could by no means be drawn to ſign a pardon unto him, though Stamford had been Buckingham's favourite and countryman, and very great interceſſion had been made unto him for his pardon. Where he once really affected,

he was ever a perfect friend; witneſs his continuance of affection unto all Buckingham's friends after his death, yea, until his own laſt decay of fortune. He was a great lover, if not too much, of the clergy, and highly advanced them; inſomuch, as under him they grew firſt inſolent, and then ſaucy; and indeed, his indulgence unto them did in part procure unto himſelf the people's hate. Whether his indulgence unto the clergy, proceeded from a religious affection rather to advance the ways of righteouſneſs, or God's cauſe, than his own private deſigns, it hath been by many controverted; but by judicious men adjudged, that his own ſelf-ends were therein more ſought after than propagating the goſpel; ſo that he ſerved himſelf by pretending to advance the clergy. He erred extreamly in this one buſineſs: when divers godly chriſtians in Norfolk delivered him a petition againſt the tyrant Wren, their biſhop; he ſent for Wren, and bad him anſwer it. Novelties in doctrine he hated, as much as in ceremony. He loved not greatly the ancient nobility or gentry of this nation; but did rather prefer creatures of his own, or father's making. How much he loved any of the nobility or gentry, but for his own ends, he made it plainly appear at Oxford, where he procured ſundry of the Eng-

Engliſh nobles, and many gentlemen, members of the Houſe of Commons, to recede from the Parliament at Weſtminſter, and convene at Oxford, where himſelf was; and after that this mock Parliament, to ſatisfy his deſire, had convened and aſſembled, done what they could, and thereby engaged their perſons and eſtates for him; yet, becauſe they would not in all things comply with his tyrannical humour, in a letter of his unto the Queen, he complains of them unto her, and ſaid, 'He was ſo troubled with a 'mongrel Parliament, he could do no-'thing, &c.' This ſcornful epithet, or badge of diſgrace, was all the reward any of thoſe unfortunate gentlemen had from him; but it was juſt they ſhould be ſo paid their wages, that in ſo traiterous a way deſerted the Parliament at Weſtminſter, which ſits to this day, &c. He cared not much for the Common Law, or very much for the Long Gown men; he learned that diſaffection of his from his father Jemmy, who could not endure the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, becauſe he ever ſaid the Prerogative was bounded by Law, and was limitable; but that excellent patriot was worſted for his dear affection to his country, by Egerton the Chancellor, who maintained the contrary; and was worthily as well rewarded by the old Scot

for his labour, Jemmy taking the Great Seal from him before he was dead, yea, in a diſgraceful manner. The Commonalty of England he neither cared for, took much notice of, or much diſreſpected; holding this opinion only, becauſe he was their King, they ought in duty to ſerve him. The Citizens of London, though they much courted him with their flatteries, and large gifts, and in his lateſt extremities relieved him with conſiderable ſums of money, yea even at Oxford in ſoap barrels; yet he ſlighted them, thought them ever too rich, and intended for them a ſevere revenge. Had he ever maſtered the Parliament, he was adviſed, by one I well knew, to have demoliſhed half the city: what he would have done had he been victorious, God knows. He would often ſay, it was the nurſery of the preſent rebellion, for ſo he called the wars, &c. and that the body of the city was too large for the head. I have heard it from the mouths of many worthy gentlemen, whoſe hap it was to ſerve him in the late wars, that they did believe, had he, *viz.* the King, by arms conquered this Parliament, he would have proved the greateſt tyrant the Engliſh nation ever had to rule other them, and therefore they did ſtill pray for a reconcilement betwixt the Parliament and Him, but could never

endure

endure to hear he ſhould conquer our armies, &c. And ſo much in a manner dropped out from the mouth of Rupert, who giving command for executing ſome things contrary to the laws; and being acquainted with his miſtake, "Tuſh," quoth he, "we will have no more law in Eng-"land henceforward but the ſword." He had a natural imperfection in his ſpeech, at ſome times could hardly get out a word, yet at other times he would ſpeak freely and articulately; as the firſt day of his coming before the High Court of Juſtice, where caſually I heard him; there he ſtammered nothing at all, but ſpoke very diſtinctly, with much courage and magnanimity. As a man he had his imperfections, for he was very covetous and gripple, and ſparing of his treaſure (qualities nothing commendable in a King;) and if at any time liberal, it was rather to the undeſerving or boiſterous fellows, than well meriting: by how much the more humbly any made their addreſſes unto him, by ſo much the more was he imperious, lofty, and at a diſtance with them; whereupon it moſt an end happened, that the impudent and bold were rewarded, and the virtuous ſlighted; which imperfection of his enforced a bold-ſpirited Courtier to ſay, 'There was no way 'to get any boon from him, but by im-

'pudence, and cajoling him with unbe-
'ſeeming language.' Yet he himſelf was never obſcene in his ſpeech, or affected it in others. I have only met with, or taken notice of, two paſſages, which argue him guilty of unbeſeemimg language. Firſt, in all or moſt of his letters unto the Queen, he terms the Parliament rebels, though they were lawfully convened, and not diſſolved, or to be diſſolved, without their own conſent; but time, and their victories, acquainted him with more civil language, and taught him to ſtyle them a Parliament. In another letter of his unto her, he calls the Lord General Fairfax, who was then the Parliament's General, their brutiſh General; a moſt uncivil term and epithet to beſtow upon ſo brave a man, ſo civil, ſo valiant, and ſo much a gentleman as Fairfax was, and is. Aſſuredly the progenitors of the Lord Fairfax were gentlemen, and of good eſtates then, and at what time the anceſtors of the Stuarts were but poor ſtewards unto a family in Scotland; and what a preferment it is now, or was ſome three hundred years ſince, to be bailiff or ſteward unto a Scotiſh family, let the whole world judge; for this was the true original of the riſe and growth of the family of Stuarts, and no other; though ſince by marriage they came to be

Kings

Kings of Scotland, (as their own chronicles relate). He did not greatly court the ladies, nor had he a laviſh affection unto many. He was manly, and well fitted for venerious ſports, yet rarely frequented illicit beds. I do not hear of above one or two natural children he had, or left behind him. He had exquiſite judgment by the eye, and phyſiognomy, to diſcover the virtuous from the wanton. He honoured the virtuous, and was very ſhy and choice in wandring thoſe ways, and when he did it, it was with much cautiouſneſs and ſecreſy; nor did he proſtitute his affection, but unto thoſe of exquiſite perſons or parts: and this the Queen well knew; nor did ſhe wink at it. He had much of ſelf-ends in all that he did, and a moſt difficult thing it was to hold him cloſe to his own promiſe or word: he was apt to recede, unleſs ſomething therein appeared compliable, either unto his own will, profit, or judgment; ſo that ſome foreign princes beſtowed on him the character of a moſt falſe prince, and one that never kept his word, unleſs for his own advantage. Had his judgment been as ſound, as his conception was quick and nimble, he had been a moſt accompliſhed gentleman: and though in moſt dangerous reſults, and extraordinary ſerious conſultations, and very material, either for ſtate

or

or commonwealth, he would himſelf give the moſt ſolid advice, and ſound reaſons, why ſuch or ſuch a thing ſhould be ſo, or not ſo; yet was he moſt eaſily withdrawn from his own moſt wholeſome and ſound advice or reſolutions; and with as much facility drawn on, inclined, to embrace a far more unſafe, and nothing ſo wholeſome a counſel. He would argue logically, and frame his arguments artificially; yet never almoſt had the happineſs to conclude or drive on a deſign in his own ſenſe, but was ever baffled with meaner capacities. He feared nothing in this world, or diſdained any thing more than the convention of a Parliament; the very name was a bugbear unto him. He was ever refractory againſt the ſummoning of a Parliament, and as willingly would embrace an opportunity to break it off. This his averſeneſs being well known to ſome grave members, they contrived at laſt by wit, and the neceſſity of the times, that his hands were faſt tied up in granting a triennial ſitting, or a perpetuity as it were unto this preſent Parliament; a thing he often blamed himſelf for ſubſcribing unto, and as often thoſe who importuned him thereunto. And therefore I wonder at that paſſage of his (if it was his, which I doubt of) in that book publiſhed under

his

his name, and called his PORTRAITURE, wherein he maintains this Parliament was called as much by his own choice and inclination, as advice of others: whereas it is manifeſtly known even unto all, it was only neceſſity, and the importunity of the Engliſh, who would not fight with the Scots, and this only cauſe was it which gave occaſion for calling of this Parliament; the Scots at preſent being poſſeſſed of Newcaſtle. For the book itſelf, it maintains ſo many contradictions unto thoſe things manifeſted by his own letters, under his own hands, unto the Queen, that I conceive the moſt part of it Apocrypha; the Meditations or Pſalms wholly were added by others: ſome looſe papers he had, I do well know, but they were nothing ſo well methodiſed, but rather papers intended after for the preſs, or as it were a Memorial or Diary, than ſuch a well couched piece, and to ſo little purpoſe. But it is anſwered by the learned Milton. He was ſeldom in the times of war ſeen to be ſorrowful for the ſlaughter of his people or ſoldiers, or indeed any thing elſe: whether by nature or cuſtom his heart was hardened, I leave for others to judge. When unfortunately the Parliament had loſt ſome of their men in the weſt, at Marlborough, and the Devizes, and they brought in a miſerable

miſerable condition, without hoſe or ſhoes, or ſcarce cloaths, into Oxford as a triumph, he was content to be a ſpectator of their calamities, but gave neither order for their relief, or commands for eaſe of their ſufferings; nay, it was noted by ſome there preſent, he rejoiced in their ſad affliction. So afterwards, when Hambden was wounded, or near that time in Buckinghamſhire, it happened a very valiant ſoldier of the Parliament's ſide to be taken, ſtript ſtark naked, his body being ſhot in many places, and his ſhoulder broke: this poor ſoul in this condition and pickle, was ſet on a poor lean jade, and brought as a triumph before the King, where he ſtood accompanied with many Nobles. It would have pitied any one's heart, to have heard how this poor man was reviled and upbraided by lewd people, even as he paſſed cloſe by the King's preſence; who neither pitied the man, rebuked the unruly people, or gave order for cure of his wounds: but God cured the ſoldier inſtantly, for he died ere he was forty paces from the King's preſence; and notwithſtanding the miſery of the man, and ſharpneſs of his wounds, yet was the greatneſs of his ſpirit and courage ſo undaunted, that he rode very upright upon the poor jade, nothing daunted either at his own preſent condition,

dition, or preſence of the King. It was obſerved, that a lewd woman, as he paſſed by, calling him Rebel, he only looked ſternly at her, and ſaid, 'You whore.' Some Nobles ſeeing the hard-heartedneſs of the King upon this ſad accident, and how little he valued thoſe who either fought for or againſt him, upon this meer occaſion deſerted him, and came for London, &c.

Even the looks and geſtures of Princes are obſerved, you may ſee, and ſeveral either good or ill conſtructions grounded thereon. He was obſerved in his diet to feed heartily, and would drink wines at meals freely, but not in exceſs. He was rather violent than moderate in exerciſes: when he walked on foot, he rather trotted than paced, he went ſo faſt. He was nothing at all given to luxury, was extream ſober both in his food and apparel; in the latter whereof he might rather be ſaid to go cleanly and neat, then gaudy or riotouſly; and as to the former, he rather loved ſober, full and ſubſtantial diſhes, than kickſhaws, which the extravagant Nobles feed for their wantonneſs ſake; though many times, ere they are ſatisfied with curioſities in diet, their eſtates lie pawned for them. In the general he was not vicious; and yet who ever ſhall ſay he was virtuous, extreamly

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errs. He was a medley betwixt virtue and vice. He was magnificent in ſome meaſure, and was the only cauſe of the building that miracle of ſhips called the Royal Sovereign: and when ſome of his Nobles acquainted him with the vaſt charge thereof, he replied, 'Why ſhould 'not he be admitted to build that ſhip 'for his own pleaſure, and which might 'be upon occaſion uſeful for ſervice of 'the kingdoms, as well as ſome Nobles 'prodigally ſpent their patrimony in rio-'tous and ungodly courſes, nothing either 'for their credits or reputations, or any 'way beneficial to the kingdom?' It was wiſely ſaid of him at that time, 'Every 'man had his proper vanity, and that was 'his, if the people accounted it ſo.' He was ill thought of by many, eſpecially the Puritans then ſo called, for ſuffering the chapel at Somerſet-Houſe to be built for the Queen, where maſs was publickly ſaid. Yet was he no Papiſt, or favoured any of their tenets; nor do I remember any ſuch thing was ever objected againſt him. Myſelf was once there to gaze, whilſt the prieſt was at high maſs: the ſexton and others thruſt me out very uncivilly, for which I proteſted never to come there again.

The actions of Kings and Princes are lookt upon with many eyes, whereof ſome

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ever prove either ſquint or purblind. So long as we live in this world, our converſation cannot be with ſaints, but with the ſons of Adam, who ever ſmell of ſome corruptions. Many alſo have blamed him for writing unto the Pope when he was in Spain: others think ill of him for the many reprieves he gave unto ſeminary prieſts; and Mr. Pryn ſweats to purpoſe in aggravating his offence thereby. Why he might not as well in a civil way write unto the Pope, as write and ſend his Ambaſſador to the great Turk, I know not: and for his mercy to thoſe prieſts, who had not occaſioned rebellion in his dominions, truly charity bids me to make rather a good than ill conſtruction. And were not the common law of this nation more in force than that canon of ſcripture, thoſe things could not be juſtified, putting men to death for religion, or taking orders beyond ſea, &c.

He was ambitious, and diſdained in his youth to match with any of the Engliſh ladies; and therefore, upon hopes of a marriage with the preſent King of Spain's ſiſter, Monday the 27th of Feb. 1622. he ſet forward for Spain, went firſt into France, and from thence with his high thoughts paſſed the mountains. Neither had he ſucceſs in the marriage deſired, or did he get honour by that journey, although

though most magnificently entertained in Spain. Some private disgusts happened there and in that voyage, insomuch as he never after his return into England, much cared for the Spaniard; which he made publickly known in several years of his reign. He was accompanied to Spain with the Duke of Buckingham, one whom formerly he extreamly hated, but after that journey was extreamly fancied, being his only great favourite. People generally were nothing satisfied with that his journey undertaken so rashly, yet many sober men judged very well of the marriage itself, and these did publickly avers the Spaniard was rich, and a brave man, would not be troublesome unto us with unnecessary visits, would ever bring gold in his pockets, was a people, with whom the English merchants had a great and rich trade, and with whose natural conditions the English did pretty well sympathise; and for the Infanta's strictness in the Roman religion, there was by many prudent men very little question made, that it would produce any ill to this nation, which now had been Protestant above sixty years: and they did also consider that the Prince was very surely grounded in his own Protestant faith, and that the common law would well provide for the multiplicity of priests, who might

presume

preſume to come upon her account. The 27th of March, being Sunday 1625, King James died. All that whole year a moſt furious plague afflicted the city of London, there dying above fifty thouſand people. Amongſt thoſe, whoſe misfortune it was to abide in the city, during that peſtilent contagion, myſelf was one, and therein beheld God's great mercy unto me, being nothing at any time viſited, though my converſation was daily with the infected. And I do well remember this accident, that going in July 1625, about half an hour after ſix in the morning, to St. Antholine's Church, I met only three perſons in the way, and no more, from my houſe over againſt Strand-bridge, till I came there; ſo few people were then alive, and the ſtreets ſo unfrequented.

In June 1625, Mary, daughter of Henry the Fourth, King of France, came over, and was married to the King the ſame month. Several conſtructions were made upon this marriage with France, and many diſputations in private were had, whether ſhe or the Infanta might have been better for this nation. However the Parliament, in regard of the ſickneſs, was tranſlated to Oxford, Auguſt 1, 1625, and the 12th of the ſame diſſolved. There are two main reaſons

given for its diſſolution: one was, becauſe the Duke of Buckingham his own favourite, ſhould not be queſtioned concerning King James's death; and the ſecond was, his Majeſty made ſeveral propoſitions unto the people, which they would not conſent unto. That King James was really and abſolutely poiſoned by a plaiſter, applied by Buckingham's mother unto King James's ſtomach, was evidently proved before a Committee. But whether Buckingham himſelf, or the late King, was guilty either in the knowledge of, or application of the plaiſter, I could never learn. Many feared the King did know of it, and they gave this reaſon; becauſe, when the Parliament did order to queſtion Buckingham for it, and had prepared their charge or articles, to preſent againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, and to accuſe him thereof, his Majeſty, contrary to all expectation, and as an affront of both Houſes, and in the Upper Houſe, when the articles came up, gave Buckingham his hand to kiſs, carried him away with him, &c. This action loſt him the preſent Parliament's affections. Even the moſt ſober of his friends held him very much overſeen to deny a Parliament juſtice in any matter whatſoever; but in matter of poiſon, and the party poiſoned being his father,

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in that to prohibit a due course, or a legal proceeding against the party suspected, it was to deny justice with a refractory hand. But at that time he was lusty and young, and in his infancy of convening Parliaments, thought to make himself sure ever after, or to master the Commons of England. There is no pen, how able soever, can take off the blemish that will ever hang on him, for falling out with his Parliament, because they questioned, how and by what means his father came to his death.

The second of February 1625, he was crowned at Westminster. William Laud altered the old coronation oath, and framed another new. And in March following was a Parliament again summoned, and therein Montague questioned for Popish and Arminian tenets; and Buckingham was again also put to it by the Commons. In time of this Parliament he sent for the Bishops, and blamed their backwardness, for that they did not inform him, how he might promote the cause of the church. Indeed, he did well know what fawning Jacks most of them were, and how easily he might with hopes of profit win them to his side: they made up a good part of the House of Lords in number. Here again the Houses of Parliament were troubled with Buckingham

and Briſtol, who was the wiſer man of the two, but had leaſt friends. Theſe framed bills, and accuſed each other of treaſon. At that time moſt men pitied Briſtol, and thought him ill rewarded for all his ſervice in Spain; for it was conceived he acted not but according to commiſſion. In this Parliament he committed Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir John Elliot, Members of the Houſe of Commons, becauſe they moſt rigorouſly had managed an accuſation againſt Buckingham: An high affront it was to the Parliament, and a great breach of privilege to commit a Member of that Houſe, without the Houſe's conſent: that matter was much reſented and very ill taken. By thoſe and other his high miſcarriages unto both Houſes, they began to miſtruſt him; many gave ſad conjectures of his actions, and thought that in the end he would either have or loſe all. June 15, 1626, he diſſolves the Parliament, only becauſe they ſhould not proſecute Buckingham. An argument of found affection unto his favourite, to hazard the love of millions only for him; but a deep imprudence and high overſight, to ſlight a whole nation for love only of one man, and he but of yeſterday; or a new creature, of but his father's ſtamping, and his own contriving.

It was in Auguſt this year, that Tilly overthrew his uncle the King of Den-

mark

mark in a pitcht field. How the King carried the buſineſs with his uncle, or what treaſure he promiſed to ſupply him with, and did not perform, I know not. Sure I am, the old King, after this fight, could never endure our King, but would ſweat, he endeavoured what in him lay to make him loſe his kingdom. This I had from the mouth of Dr. M. who heard the King of Denmark ſpeak what I write.

In *Anno* 1627. he ſet forth men and ſhips to the Iſle of Rhé in France, under the conduct of Buckingham. We loſt our beſt men in that ſcurvy deſign, who were no better than butchered by the French, through the indiſcretion of ſome that had principal command therein. But give me leave, before I proceed farther, to relate what I had from the mouth of an eminent Colonel, employed in that ſucceſsleſs expedition, and one of the Council of War, and a ſworn enemy to the Duke. Buckingham I well know was extremely blamed about the loſs of our men, the day of their retreat unto the ſhips. The matter was thus carried: The night before the retreat, the Duke called a Council of War, and there ſhewed them the neceſſity of their retreat the next day, and that himſelf in martial diſcipline being wholly unexperienced, he left the managing of the next day's action

to the ordering of the Council of War, offering the ſervice of his own perſon unto any hazard whatever as far as any private ſoldier. The Council committed the management of their retreat, by a free conſent, unto old Sir William Courtney, a heavy dull covetous old man, who having been twenty or thirty years a private Captain in Holland, was, by Sir John Burrows's means, made Colonel in that expedition. And Burrows being now dead, and Courtney the eldeſt Colonel, it was referred unto him how with ſafety to bring off our men. But he, either through want of judgment, or forgetfulneſs, having not ſufficiently provided for ſecurity of our rear, our men were moſt unfortunately many of them cut in pieces: and had not Sir Pierce Crofby with eight hundred Iriſh made good the retreat, all our men had been loſt. Courtney himſelf fell into a ſalt-pan in the defeat, and was ſaved by means of his man Anthony's crying, 'O ſave my Captain;' but the poor fellow loſt his own life, and ſaved his maſter's.

A bullet by chance, during their ſtay in that iſland, was ſhot at the ſaid Courtney; and he having a piece of gold of twenty one ſhillings price in his fob, the bullet light there, bent the gold, and ſo he was preſerved. Courtney, at his return,

turn, ſhewed me the gold, and told me the ſtory. The King hearing of our loſs at the Iſle of Rhé, and landing of the Duke, inſtead of being angry at the loſs of ſo many gallant men, or calling him to account, ſent to comfort the Duke, deſiring that he ſhould not be troubled at the loſs, for the chance of war was caſual.

And now we are ſpeaking of Rochelle, let me acquaint the world, that his Majeſty was the ſole cauſe of its loſing, for he lent the King of France eight or ten of his own navy, by which means the Rochellers ſhips were ſunk and deſtroyed, who before were ever able to relieve themſelves with their own ſhips, againſt all oppoſition the Kings of France could make. And that it may appear, he willingly lent theſe ſhips unto the French, and was not forced unto it by Buckingham, as many have affirmed, I will relate this paſſage, perhaps not vulgarly known. Sir John Pennington, being Vice-Admiral, had commiſſion to carry eight or more royal ſhips into France. When he arrived there, the French acquainted him the ſhips were to ſerve the French King againſt the Rochellers, and if that he the ſaid Sir John would ſerve in that employment, he ſhould be honourably rewarded. But this gallant man

being truly English, scorned the proffer, and utterly refused the employment, and ere he would resign the ships unto the French, came privately himself unto the King, and informed the King of the French intentions against Rochelle. But the King said only thus much: 'Pennington, go and deliver your ships, and 'leave them in France;' and then gave him a particular or private warrant under his own hand for his discharge, &c. He had much ado to get his ships again from the French, and then was enforced to send Sir John Pennington amongst the French, who seised above a hundred French ships, and kept them until ours were delivered. One thing is observable, that we had only two sailors assisted against Rochelle in our ships, and no more. This I relate in honour of the seamen.

The destruction of Rochelle is wholly laid upon our King's score, as well and justly it may be, to his eternal dishonour and blemish; for had he not furnished the French with ships, Rochelle could not have been taken as it was. And verily I believe the sad groans and miseries of those poor Protestants poured out unto Almighty God in their height of calamities against our King, were extreme instrumental in hastening down the anger of God against the late King. However,

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this action of his lost him the love of the Protestant Princes in all parts of the world, and his own subjects could after that action never well brook him, but daily were alienated in their affection from him, supposing him either not well grounded in the Protestant Faith, or else a meer state-juggler and no other. I know some have accused Buckingham to be instrumental about the lending those ships: 'tis possible he was. However, in March 1627, a Parliament was summoned again, Buckingham articled against, and in June prorogued until October; after in March dissolved, because William Laud was remonstrated against by the Commons, his ruin laboured. There were also articles exhibited against Buckingham in the Parliament, but the latter of the two, viz. Buckingham was stabbed the 23d of August 1628, he being ready to go unto sea for relief of Rochelle, then besieged. Many complained of the King in this various action about Rochelle, viz. in first aiding the French to destroy the Rochellers ships, then to take part with them against the King of France; but to no purpose. Some therefore compared him to a black witch, whom they say can bewitch and hurt cattle, but hath no ability to cure them again. It was an act of great inconstancy, and much dishonour

to himself and whole nation, though the nation had no hand in it. When first the news was brought unto the King of Buckingham's death, he was at a sermon, or in a church, or at service. He did not seem much troubled at the news, but stayed out the sermon with much patience, only gave Maxwell present directions to seize the Duke's cabinet, wherein his letters and private instructions were. All men generally, except a few court parasites, were glad of Buckingham's death; yet nothing was bettered in the court or commonwealth after his death; which moved many to affirm, that all the misgovernments in the realm proceeded not from Buckingham's ill advice, but most from the corrupt and depraved nature of the King's own haste. Sith I am upon the death of Buckingham, I shall relate a true story of his being admonished often of the manner of his death he should die, is this manner.

An aged gentleman, one Parker, as I remember, having formerly belonged unto the Duke, or of great acquaintance with the Duke's father, and now retired, had a dæmon appeared several times unto him, in the shape or image of Sir George Villiers the Duke's Father. This dæmon walked many times in Parker's bed chamber, without any action of terror, noise,

hurt,

hurt, or speech; but at last one night broke out into these words: 'Mr. Parker, 'I know you loved me formerly, and my 'son George at this time very well: I 'would have you go from me, you know 'me very well to be his father, old Sir 'George Villiers of Leicestershire, and 'from me acquaint him with these and 'these particulars, &c. and that he above 'all refrain the counsel and company of 'such and such, whom he then nominated, 'or else he will come to destruction, and 'that suddenly.' Mr. Parker did partly, though a very discreet man, imagine he himself was in a dream all this time, and being unwilling to proceed upon no better grounds, forbare addressing himself to the Duke; for he conceived, if he should acquaint the Duke with the words of his father, and the manner of his appearance unto him, (such apparitions being not usual) that he should be laughed at, and thought to dote, being he was aged. Some few nights passed without further trouble to the old man. But not very many nights after, old Sir George Villiers appeared again, walked quick and furiously in the room, seemed angry with Mr. Parker, and at last said, 'Mr. Parker, 'I thought you had been my friend so 'much, and loved my son George so 'well, that you would have acquainted

'him

'him with what I desired, but yet I 'know that you have not done it. By 'all the friendship that ever was betwixt 'you and me, and the great respect you 'bear my son, I desire you to deliver what 'I formerly commanded you unto my 'son.' The old man, seeing himself thus solicited in this manner, promised the dæmon he would; but first argued it thus: That the Duke was not easy to be spoke withal, and that he would account him a vain man to come with such a message from the dead; nor did he conceive the Duke would give any credit unto him. Whereunto the dæmon thus answered; 'If he will not believe you have this dis-'course from me, tell him of such a 'secret, and named it, 'which he knows 'none in the world ever knew but my-'self and he.' Mr. Parker being now well satisfied, that he was not asleep, or that the apparition was a vain delusion, took a fit opportunity therefore, and seriously acquainted the Duke with his father's words, and the manner of his apparition. The Duke heartily laughed at the relation, which put old Parker to a stand: but at last he assumed courage, and told the Duke, that he acquainted his father's ghost with what he now found to be true, *viz.* scorn and derision: 'But 'my Lord, saith he, 'your father bad

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'me acquaint you by this token, and he 'said it was such as none in the world 'but your two selves did yet know.' Hereat the Duke was amazed and much astonished, but took no warning or notice thereof, keeping the same company still, advising with such counsellors, and performing such actions, as his father by Parker countermanded. Shortly after, old Sir George Villiers, in a very quiet but sorrowful posture, appears again unto Mr. Parker; and said, 'Mr. Parker, I 'know you delivered my words unto 'George my son; I thank you for so 'doing: but he slighted them; and now 'I only request this more at your hands, 'that once again you repair unto my son, 'and tell him, if he will not amend, and 'follow the counsel I have given him, 'this knife or dagger,' and with that he pulled a knife or dagger from under his gown, 'shall end him; and do you 'Mr. Parker set your house in order, for 'you shall die at such a time.' Mr. Parker once more engaged, though very unwillingly, to acquaint the Duke with this last message, and so did; but the Duke desired him to trouble him no further with such messages and dreams: told him, he perceived he was now an old man, and doted. And within a month after meeting Mr. Parker on Lambeth-

Bridge,

Bridge, Now, Mr. Parker, what say you of your dream? Who only returned, Sir, I wish it may never have success,' seem. But within six weeks after, he was stabbed with a knife, according to his father's admonition before-hand, and Mr. Parker died soon after he had seen the dream or vision performed.

The 29th of May, 1630, being Saturday, near unto one in the afternoon, the present King of Scotland was born. The next day the King came to Paul's-Cross, to give God thanks for the birth of his son, where were presented unto him these verses:

Rex ubi Paulinias accessit gratus ad aras,
Immicuit medio lucida stella polo.
Die divina mihi dictans ænigmata coeli,
Hæc oriens nobis, quid sibi stella velit?
Magnus in occiduo princeps modo nascitur orbe,
Moxque sub ecliptsi regna orientis erunt.

About May, 1633, he went into Scotland, and was crowned there the 18th of June, ☉ in ♌ 2, ☽ in ♐ 17. In July he had a dangerous passage from Brunt-Island, and hardly escaped drowning. Some of his houshold-stuff or plate was lost.

In 1634, he was infinitely troubled with faction in his court, which much displeased him; but by little and little he put all things in order again. Then also he levied

levied a general great tax upon the whole kingdom, vulgarly called ship-money, because it was pretended it was for maintenance of the navy, and truly much of it was that way expended, and the sailors well paid their wages, which occasioned for two years together a good fleet of royal ships to be set forth, much for the honour of the nation.

This ship-money was generally misliked, being a mere innovation, and a cleanly trick to poll the subjects, and cheat them into an annual payment. Myself was then a collector for it in the place I lived in. I remember my proportion was twenty two shillings, and no more. If we compare the times then, and the present in which I now live, you shall see great difference even in assessments, the necessity of maintaining our armies requiring it: for now my annual payments to the soldiery are very near or more than twenty pounds, my estate being no way greater than formerly. Against this ship-money many gallant men opposed, and at last in Parliament it was voted down.

In July 1637, viz. 23d day, there was great disturbance in Edinburgh, about a new Service-Book endeavoured to be obtruded on the Scots by the King and Canterbury. I have heard, an old woman begun the quarrel by casting her stool

ſtool at the prieſt, when he read the Service-Book. Many very modeſt divines exceedingly blame both the King and Canterbury for that book; it admitted into the people, as I remember, the Communion but in one kind. However, by the prudence of ſome grave men, being then Privy-Counſellors in Scotland, matters were ſlubbered over all that winter in Scotland; but in May, or April, new tumults aroſe, and truly I may almoſt ſay, that that corrupt Common-Prayer-Book was the ſole and whole occaſion of all the miſeries and wars that ſince that time have happened in both nations. Had his Majeſty firſt endeavoured the impoſition of that lame book upon the Engliſh, moſt men did believe we had ſwallowed it, and then the Scots muſt have done it afterwards; for the clergy at that time generally were ſuch idle and lazy lubbers, and ſo pampered with court preferment, and places temporal in every ſhire of England, and ſuch flattering ſycophants, that doubtleſs the great hand of God was in it, that thoſe rude Scots firſt broke the ice, and taught us the way to expel an inſulting prieſthood, and to reſiſt the King, he endeavouring by unwarrantable means to intrude things contrary to the divine law of Almighty God upon our conſciences.

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In Anno 1638, the Queen-mother of France, and mother unto the Engliſh Queen, widow of Henry the fourth, King of France, landed in England, and came unto London the 31ſt of October. She was very meanly accompanied, and few of quality attending her. The King moſt humanely and generouſly receives and entertains her, though all men were extremely againſt it, for it was obſerved, that wherever, or unto what country this miſerable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or other. Strange it is unto me, how ſhe could be ſo fatal to any land ſhe entred into. True it is, and I do very well know, that ſome people born under an unfortunate conſtellation of heaven (without this, that they live above nature, and live wholly in the ſpirit) are ſo extreme unſucceſsful in every thing they undertake, that let them uſe the greateſt induſtry they can to be rich, all will not amount to obtain a poor living, though they are aſſiſted not only with a good ſtock of money to begin their profeſſion with, but have alſo many very profitable and aſſiſting friends, and means for their better encouragement and furtherance. It is very poſſible, that ſuch like ill fortune from her infancy might attend this

old Queen, as to be thought an unlucky preſage of what miſchief preſently followed her in thoſe countries ſhe reſided in.

In November, proclamation was made to diſſolve the great aſſembly in Scotland, but to little purpoſe; for the Scots have this privilege belonging unto them, that where, and when they pleaſe, to obey no edicts or commands of their Kings, except thoſe edicts fancy their own humours. This proclamation was laughed at, and ſlighted by the Scots, who made it appear they were in good earneſt, and began to raiſe an army for their own defence, by no means enduring the half Popiſh Common-Prayer-Book. This raiſing of an army by the Scots, in oppoſition of the Common-Prayer-Book, made our prelates prick up their ears, and the lazy biſhops moſt of all, who convened, and raiſed amongſt their own Levitical Tribe great ſums of money towards the maintenance of an army againſt the Scots, whom they now hated worſe than Turks. Several particular men are ſummoned to appear at court, are enforced to lend vaſt ſums of money towards the maintenance of an army. I have heard ſome affirm, the King had in his coffers at that time above ſix hundred thouſand pounds: No great

great ſum for ſo provident a prince, and ſuch large incomes as he had.

In or about the 27th of March 1639, the King ſet forward towards Scotland. His army followed immediately: the Earl of Arundel being made general, a man of great nobility, courage, and reſolution, and one whoſe anceſtors had been generals ſeveral times againſt the Scots with excellent ſucceſs. There attended the King in this expedition moſt of the nobility of this nation, but with great unwillingneſs; for the Engliſh and Scots having now lived like brethren, or natives, or people of one nation, one amongſt another for almoſt forty years, and having intermarried one with another, both the nobility or gentry, and others, they thought it a very ſtrange thing, and not lawful or convenient, that this nation ſhould now take up arms, and engage againſt the Scots, only to ſatisfy the infatiable luſt of a few domineering prieſts, and half popiſh biſhops; as alſo of an obſtinate King, wholly led by the noſe by theſe ſnaffling Prieſts. The common ſoldier was nothing well pleaſed, and marched moſt unwillingly upon this ſervice. At laſt both armies, for many days, accoſted each other; yet I never heard of ſo much as one louſe killed by either army; the Scots being

very tender of provoking the Engliſh, and they as willing to give no offence unto the Scots. In June of that year a peace was concluded betwixt both nations, the Engliſh nobility much deſiring and furthering it.

The King himſelf was moſt greedy above all men of this union with the Scots, as will appear by this enſuing ſtory. That day which was aſſigned for certain of the Engliſh nobility and Scotiſh to treat about thoſe articles of agreement or pacification the Scotiſh nobility were to produce; the nobles of each nation being ſet, the Earl of Arundel began with much gravity to rebuke the Scots for their unadviſedneſs and rebellion in raiſing their army againſt their lawful King, and diſturbing the peace of both nations; and yet he commended the good nature of the King, who was, notwithſtanding their high provocations and miſdemeanors, very inclinable to hear their juſt grievances, and to that purpoſe had appointed himſelf, being General of the Engliſh army, and ſome other ſelect nobles of his council, to meet them that day, to treat with them, and to hear their grievances, and what they could ſay for themſelves. This gallant man was proceeding further in his ſpeech, and aggravating the Scots offences, when, lo,

unexpectedly his Majeſty entered the room, called for the articles the Scots deſired to be ratified, or conſented unto, read them ſcarce over, but took pen and ink immediately, and ſigned them, without ever adviſing with any of his council; which ſo diſpleaſed the nobility of the Engliſh nation, that the very next day after ſigning the Scots articles, they all haſted home to their own habitations; the King ſtaying behind, and for his daily exerciſe, played at a ſcurvy game called pigeon-holes, or nine-pins. His fellow gameſters alſo were equal to the game, *viz.* lackeys, pages, and ſuch others, *ejuſdem generis*. He again no ſooner came to London, but as I remember, cauſed thoſe articles to be burned by the common hangman; making himſelf as ridiculous in doing the one, as he was reputed weak and ſimple of judgment in doing the other. But at that time moſt imputed the burning of the Scots articles, unto the advices given him, and importunity of the proud clergy and biſhops, who humoured him in every itching deſire of his, even to his ruin.

There happened many memorable accidents in this year 1639; as firſt, five eclipſes of the ſun and moon; three of the ſun, two of the moon; none was

viſible in our horizon, but the eclipſe of the ſun, which here began with us at London the 22d of May, being Wedneſday, at 3 hours and 52 minutes after noon; its middle was at 4 hours and 52 minutes, and its end at 46 minutes after 5. The digits eclipſed were 8. 51 minutes, 41 ſeconds; the whole time of its continuance was 1 hour, and 54 minutes of time: The ſcheme of heaven follows.

His Majeſty was in the field againſt the Scots at the very time of the eclipſe; and ſome that were there with him ſaid, 'They

'They felt not a more ſharp cold day in 'all their lives than that was, the ſeaſon 'of the year, and height of the ſun con-'ſidered. I'll meddle little with the prog-noſtick part of this eclipſe: yet I might tell you, that Mercury, at the time of the beginning of the eclipſe, repreſented the clergy, and he was retrograde near to conjunction with Mars: one ill omen unto the clergy. At the middle of the eclipſe the moon was their ſignificator, and ſhe combuſt and near the dragon's-tail, which ſignified much calamity unto the prieſts. This eclipſe ſignified unto the King much treachery and damage by his friends the Scots: the degree eclipſed was in the op-poſite degree, almoſt, of the ſun in his radix. As this eclipſe ſhewed his troubles, or their beginning; ſo the moon's eclipſe in 8 ♑ in 1648, ended his afflictions, &c.

The effects of this eclipſe had moſt in-fluence upon the King of Spain, it falling even in the very degree of the ſeventh houſe; ſo that upon the 11th or 12th of October 1639, upon our Engliſh coaſt, and under our noſes, almoſt in our har-bour, the Hollander burnt and ſunk a great navy of his, with many miſerable ſouls in the navy, which were to be land-ed in Flanders. I know ſome have not ſtuck to affirm, that the eight thouſand

men, tranſported in the Spaniſh navy, were intended to have been landed here in aſſiſtance of his Majeſty: but it was a meer untruth; for who could have hindered their landing in Kent, if his Majeſty had commanded it? Sure I am, the Spaniard took it ill at his Majeſty's hand, that he ſuffered them to periſh ſo near our harbour. They alſo took exception, that his Majeſty having promiſed them ammunition and powder, which it ſeems they wanted, it came not at the place for them, either by neglect or treachery of our officers, until they were worſted. The truth of the ſtory of theſe eight thouſand Spaniards in the navy was thus. There was a part of that country where the Walloons inhabit, under the dominion of the King of Spain, in the Netherlands, which was taken notice to be very diſaffected unto him: now upon landing theſe amongſt the Walloons, ſo many of that people were to have been tranſported into Spain, &c. When his Majeſty firſt heard of the Spaniſh and Dutch fleet, and their near approach, he ſaid to one ſtanding by him, 'I would I 'were well rid of both navies.' To ſpeak the truth of him, either as he was virtuous or vicious, is not to wrong him; but in every trivial miſcarriage to make him the

author

author of it, I hold it barbarous, and not the part of an honeſt moral man.

In this memorable year, the Scots, by act amongſt themſelves, thruſt out all biſhops; who after came ſneaking hither, and had by Canterbury's means large and plentiful exhibitions for their maintenance. His Majeſty took the expulſion of the biſhops ſo ill, as that he reſolved to check the ſaucineſs of the Scots, his dear countrymen, and cauſed their trade with us to be prohibited, and their ſhips to be ſeiſed; which ſo enraged the Scotiſh nation, that they were again in 1640 in arms. The King ſummons a Parliament in April about the Scots, which Parliament would not give a farthing unto him towards maintenance of his intended army againſt the Scots; therefore in May he diſſolves the Parliament; which gave great diſcontent all over the nation, and great encouragement unto the Scots: whereupon their army was ſuddenly ready, and their preſumption ſuch, as without invitation, they, the 17th of Auguſt 1640, entred England. The King prepares an army of Engliſh to reſiſt them: but ſuch was the general inclination even of the common ſoldiers, and ſo great an odium or hatred was caſt upon William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that nothing would ſerve the common ſoldiers

but

but a Parliament; not a man of the Engliſh would fight againſt the Scots, who were now crept into the ſtrong town of Newcaſtle: our ſoldiers were mutinous, the officers generally diſaffected to the ſervice: in ſome countries the new raiſed ſoldiers ſlew their officers, and would not go. All theſe commotions moved the King little to deſiſt from the war, being continually furthered by the biſhops and clergy, who in their convocation gave a large benevolence towards the maintenance of thoſe wars, and commanded their tribes in their ſeveral pulpits to inveigh, and cry aloud againſt the profane Scots, and to perſuade the people to aſſiſt as willingly as againſt Infidels or Turks. His Majeſty again commanded the nobility to attend him in this Northern expedition, who leiſurely, and rather unſeaſonably or unwillingly, than otherways, attended him at York.

All men knew this war was promoted by the clergy, whom the nobility began to diſdain and ſcorn, and the gentry and yeomanry of England extreamly to hate; for at this preſent time the high commiſſion-court, and other bawdy courts, did moſt horrible injuſtice againſt the perſons and eſtates of any gentleman, who by misfortune came thither. There was alſo one Wrenn, biſhop of Norwich,

born

born in London, a fellow whoſe father ſold babies and ſuch pedlary ware in Cheapſide. This fellow very peremptorily one day, as he ſat in Judicature in the High Commiſſion-Court, ſaid openly, 'He hoped to live to ſee the time, when 'a Maſter of Arts, or a miniſter, ſhould 'be as good a man as any Jack gentle-'man in England.' And verily the pride of this ſaucy citizen's ſon, hath been one main cauſe of the ruin of the clergy. Concerning this Wrenn, I know Canterbury preferred him, and brought him to thoſe Eccleſiaſtical advancements in court and church, which he enjoyed. I do alſo know, and have heard it from ſome who waited on Canterbury in his chamber, that he would oft ſay, that the raſh actions and unwarrantable proceedings of this Wrenn would undo the clergy; but in regard he had been the ſole means of his advancement, he could not well do any act prejudicial againſt him, but it would redound to the diſhonour of himſelf, and the clergy in general: alſo he had many reluctancies in himſelf, for preferring ſo unworthy a ſcornful fellow, who proved the ſcandal and ſcorn of churchmen, and an extraordinary plague to the whole nation. For upon his plaguing and puniſhing many godly clothiers in the countries of Norfolk and Suffolk,

Suffolk, they were forced to leave their native country, and betake themſelves and families into the United Provinces, where they have taught the Dutch the art and manfacture of cloathing, even to the utter impoveriſhment of this whole nation, &c. and yet this wretched Wrenn lives, &c.

As I remember, near upon, or in this year 1639, or 1640, the citizens of London were miſerably abuſed by a beggarly Knight, one Sir Phillips of Ireland, who exhibited his bill againſt them, for certain miſdemeanors pretended to be committed by ſome of their ſub-officers in Ireland, about the parts of London-Derry. True it is, the citizens of London very gallantly, about the coming in of King James, or not long after, ſent colonies of their own in great numbers, and at their own extreme great charges, to ſettle a civil plantation in the North of Ireland. They had a large patent from King James, and many privileges granted unto them for their ſo doing and planting. Above thirty years they had quietly poſſeſſed their own lands there, had built many beautiful market-towns, one or more city or cities, many churches in the territories aſſigned them. But near theſe years of 1639, or 1640, this Sir Phillips demanding ſome unreaſonable things of the citi-

zens,

zens, and being denied them, he in malice exhibits his bill for miſdemeanors of their officers, againſt the Londoners in the Star-chamber; brought the cauſe unto a hearing; the court of Star-chamber fined the Londoners deeply, adjudged their plantations forfeited to the King, who as eagerly and greedily ſwallowed them for his own. This very act in or near this exigence of time, ſo imbittered the ſpirits of the citizens, that although they were ſingularly invited for loan of monies, and had as great plenty in their poſſeſſions as ever, yet would not contribute any aſſiſtance or money againſt the Scots, or advance of his Majeſty in this his Scotiſh expedition. And though I do not attribute theſe caſualties and loſſes of the cities, to be derived or cauſed from the eclipſe of 1639, although the eclipſe was in Gemini, which ſign is the aſcendant of London: yet certainly, that Eclipſe did in a natural way threaten or portend much damage unto them, and did manifeſt the caſualties, but was not the cauſe.

There was at laſt a ceſſation of arms by conſent of both parties, Scots and Engliſh. Some petty ſcuffling there was to no purpoſe. The King, when he ſaw no other means could be thought on for to ſerve his turn, and that the common ſoldier unanimouſly refuſed engaging with the

the Scots, by the conſtant and earneſt deſire of the Engliſh nobility, which attended him, he with much unwillingneſs at length was content to give ſummons for another Parliament to be convened the third day of November 1640. But you muſt underſtand in the mean while, when the King ſaw he could no ways engage the Engliſh againſt the Scots, he had ſent unto Ireland for the then preſent Lord Deputy, the Earl of Strafford, formerly Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkſhire gentleman by birth, and one who had formerly been a great ſtickler againſt him, until, poiſoned with court-preferment, he turned Royaliſt, and ſo was made Lord Deputy of Ireland; a man of the rareſt parts and deepeſt judgment of any Engliſhman living; I ſay, he ſent for this Strafford to conſult with him about compoſing theſe emergent differences. Strafford adviſes with Canterbury, all to little purpoſe; for the Biſhop was a very aſs in any thing but church-matters; the hand of providence now going along with the Parliament and commonwealth, who became maſters of all publick ſpirited people, the King daily declining. In April 1641, the Parliament accuſe Strafford for ſeveral miſdemeanors, treaſons, tyrannies, &c. againſt the commonwealth, during his government in Ireland.

Ireland. The Parliament follow it ſo luſtily, that notwithſtanding Strafford ſpoke and defended himſelf as well as any mortal man in the world could do, yet he was found guilty, had his ſentence to die, and did die. Thomas Earl of Arundel being Lord High Steward, the King ſigned the warrant for his death, either by himſelf or Commiſſioners. Thus died Strafford, the wiſeſt politician this nation ever bred.

All men accuſe the King for his falſeneſs and cowardice unto this man, who being ſatisfied in his own conſcience, that Strafford was not guilty of treaſon or death, but only of miſdemeanors, yet ſigned a warrant, either under his own hand, or by commiſſioners. Some there are who do ſay, with the ſame pen, and at the ſame time, he ſigned the warrant againſt Strafford, and alſo the Act for a triennial or perpetual Parliament, which ſhould not be diſſolved without conſent of both Houſes. Many affirm, the Queen procured him to do both theſe things: others impute it to Hamilton. It matters not who did it, or perſuaded him, it was his ruin, &c.

The matter is not great, who invited the Scots into England: ſome thought Pim, Hambden, and ſeveral other gentlemen were inſtrumental. It is very like it

it was true, and that the King knew as much, but could not remedy it. The Parliament however in policy and judgment gave the Scots a round ſum of money for their loſſes, and ordered them to depart this kingdom, which they did; ſo that in Auguſt 1641, the King went into Scotland purpoſely to pacify and compoſe the preſent threatening differences there.

In the ſame month of Auguſt 1641, I beheld the old Queen-Mother of France departing from London, in company of Thomas Earl of Arundel. A ſad ſpectacle of mortality it was, and produced tears from mine eyes, and many other beholders, to ſee an aged, lean, decrepid, poor Queen, ready for her grave, neceſſitated to depart hence, having no place of reſidence in this world left her, but where the courteſy of her hard fortune aſſigned it. She had been the only ſtately and magnificent woman of Europe; wife to the greateſt King ever lived in France, mother unto one King and unto two Queens. The King cared not much for the Earl of Arundel, being he was of a ſevere and grave nature, could not endure court-novelties or flatterers, was potent in allies, &c. But there was one thing or cauſe mainly above the reſt, and that was, becauſe the Earl of Arundel being

being Lord High Steward and Judge in Strafford's trial, gave his voice that he was guilty of treaſon, &c. The Earl alſo had but a few years before given the King a touch of his own great heart, and the King's unthankfulneſs unto him and his family. The caſe was thus: A prieſt pretends the King had a right in a rectory: the Earl challenged for his, and had procured Canterbury for his friend and ſecond. The matter had many debates: for Arundel was no fool, but ſtood ſtoutly for his right. Canterbury was as violent for the prieſt, and had procured the King to take cognizance, or hear the matter. The King upon ſome ſlight evidence maintained it was his, *viz.* belonged to the Crown. The Earl ſeeing the obſtinateneſs of the King, and his ſiding with a petty prieſt againſt him, and his proper right, out of the greatneſs of his heart, ſaid, 'Sir, this rectory was 'an appendant unto ſuch or ſuch a 'manor of mine, until my grandfather, 'unfortunately, loſt both his life and 'ſeventeen Lordſhips more, for the love 'he bore to your grandmother.' This was a ſmart ſpeech, and home to purpoſe: it ſo aſtoniſhed the King, that he replied pretty mildly, 'My Lord, I would 'not have you to think that ſo poor a 'thing as this rectory or thing in queſtion

'ſhall ſtand in competition betwixt my 'reſpect unto you and your family, which 'I know to be deſerving,' &c. After that time the Earl little liked the King's actions, and therefore took this opportune occaſion of going away with the Queen-mother: and when one ſaid unto him, his Majeſty would miſs him; 'It is an 'ill dog,' ſaid the Earl, 'that is not worth 'whiſtling; and though he is a King, he 'will find Arundel's affection unto him 'would not have been inconſiderable,' &c. Some few years ſince, this Earl died at Padua, being the laſt man of the Engliſh nation, that maintained the gravity and port of the ancient nobility; a great lover of antiquities, and of the Engliſh nation. He brought over the new way of building with brick in the city, greatly to the ſafety of the city, and preſervation of the wood of this nation. He was a great patron of decayed gentry; and being Lord High Marſhal of England, carried too ſtrict an hand againſt the yeomanry and commonalty; for which he was nothing beloved, but rather hated of them. However, the gentry and nobility owe much unto his memory.

In October 1641, the Iriſh unanimouſly rebel and maſſacre the poor Engliſh, who were not able to relieve themſelves, as matters at preſent were handled, wanting able

able governors to direct them. And the very truth is, the way which at first was taken to ſuppreſs the rebellion, did only ſupport it: for confidence being given to ſome of the Iriſh nobility, and many of them furniſhed with arms, they furniſh their own kindred, being native Iriſh; who were no ſooner poſſeſſed of arms, but they became errant traitors to the Engliſh. A great queſtion will here ariſe, whether the murder of the Engliſh was by conſent or commiſſion from the King unto the Iriſh? Many have affirmed in words and in print publickly, that he ſhould be guilty of ſuch a villanous act; which I cannot believe, in regard I could never have any aſſured relation, what thoſe commiſſions were the Iriſh boaſted of, they being only the affirmations of the Catholick Iriſh, purpoſely to win others unto their party, and ſeducing many by ſaying, they acted by the King's commiſſions. Had this been true, it had been more than equal unto his aſſiſting for deſtruction of Rochelle; but I may hope better things, both as he was a Proteſtant, a Chriſtian, and a King. Yet methink there is little ſatisfaction given unto this in his late pretended book. Two main things are objected againſt the King, which that book meddles not with, or anſwers. First, why his Majeſty was

ſo tender-hearted of the Iriſh, as not to ſuffer above forty proclamations to iſſue out againſt thoſe rebels in Ireland, and thoſe alſo to no purpoſe, or unopportunely, when too late. Beſides, to ſhew his reſpect unto them, I know he obliterated with his own hands the word Iriſh rebels, and put in Iriſh ſubjects, in a manuſcript diſcourſe, writ by Sir Edward Walker, and preſented unto him, which I have ſeen of the Iriſh rebellion, &c. Secondly, whereas the Parliament were ſending over cloaths, and other neceſſaries, for the Engliſh ſoldiers in Ireland, the King ſeized them as they went, armed and furniſhed the Engliſh and Welſh againſt the Parliament. The reaſons of theſe are omitted by the penner of his Portraiture.

In November 1641, the Parliament ſtill ſitting, the King comes for London, is entertained by them in the greateſt ſtate might be, and met on the way by ſome hundreds in gold chains; and nothing is now cried but 'Hoſanna, welcome home; 'your Majeſty is welcome.' The Queen perceiving a breach was likely to be betwixt the King and Parliament, thought politickly to engage the city for him. He gives the citizens good words, tells them, he will give them their lands in Ireland again, a promiſe he was never able to perform,

perform, &c. As I remember at their requeſt, he alſo kept his Chriſtmas at Whitehall, intending otherways to have kept it at Hampton-Court, and alſo knighted ſome of the Aldermen. At his return from Scotland, he affirmed in a ſpeech he made unto both Houſes, how he had left that kingdom in as quiet and good condition as could be expected. The devil was in the crags of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required, and ſigned whatever they deſired or demanded, confirmed as much as their large conſciences could require.

But now in January 1641, began a ſea of misfortunes to fall upon us, and overwhelm our long-continued happineſs, by diſagreement of the King and the two Houſes of Parliament, and partly by the daily coming to the Parliament Houſe of many hundred citizens, ſometimes in very rude manner. True it is, the King diſliked theſe too frequent addreſſes unto both Houſes in ſo tumultuous and unwarrantable a manner; whereupon, fearing the worſt (as himſelf pretended) he had a court of guard before Whitehall of the trained-bands. He had alſo many diſſolute gentlemen, and ſome very civil, that kept within Whitehall, with their ſwords by their ſides, to be ready upon

any ſudden occaſion. Verily, mens fears now began to be great, and it was by many perceived, the King began to ſwell with anger againſt the proceedings of Parliament, and to intend a war againſt them: ſome ſpeeches dropped from him to that purpoſe. It happened one day, as ſome of the ruder ſort of citizens came by Whitehall, one buſy citizen muſt needs cry, 'No Biſhops:' ſome of the gentlemen iſſued out of Whitehall, either to correct the ſaucineſs of the fool in words, if they would ſerve, elſe it ſeems with blows: what paſſed on either ſide in words, none but themſelves knew; the citizen being more tongue than ſoldier, was wounded, and I have heard, died of his wounds received at that time. It hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late KING's head was cut off, the SCAFFOLD ſtanding juſt over that place.

Thoſe people or citizens who uſed thus to flock unto Weſtminſter, were moſt of them men of mean or a middle quality themſelves; no Aldermen, Merchants, or Common-Council Men, but ſet on by ſome of better quality; and yet moſt of them were either ſuch as had publick ſpirits, or lived a more religious life than the vulgar, and were uſually called Puri-

tans, and had ſuffered under the tyranny of the Biſhops: in the general they were very honeſt men, and well meaning. Some particular fools, or others, perhaps now and then got in amongſt them, greatly to the diſadvantage of the more ſober. They were modeſt in their apparel, but not in language: they had the hair of their heads, very few of them, longer than their ears: whereupon it came to paſs, that theſe who uſually with their cries attended at Weſtminſter, were, by a nick name, called Roundheads. The courtiers again wearing long hair and locks, and always ſworded, at laſt were called by theſe men Cavaliers: and ſo after that this broken language had been uſed a while, all that adhered to the Parliament were termed Roundheads; all that took part or appeared for his Majeſty Cavaliers; few of the vulgar knowing the ſenſe of the word Cavalier. However, the preſent hatred of the citizens were ſuch unto gentlemen, eſpecially courtiers, that few durſt come into the city; or if they did, they were ſure to receive affronts, and be abuſed.

To ſpeak freely and ingenuouſly, what I then obſerved of the city tumults, was this. Firſt, the ſufferings of the citizens who were any thing well devoted, had, during all this King's reign, been ſuch,

and ſo great, being harrowed or abuſed continually, either with the High Commiſſion Court, or the Star Chamber, that as men in whoſe breaſts the ſpirit of liberty had ſome place, they were even glad to vent out their ſighs and ſufferings in this rather tumultuous than civil manner; being aſſured, if ever this Parliament had been diſſolved, they muſt have been racked, whipped, and ſtripped by the ſnotty clergy, and other extravagant courſes. And for any amendment which they might expect from the King, they too well knew his temper: that though in a time of Parliament he often promiſed to redreſs any grievances, yet the beſt friend he hath, cannot produce any one act of good for his ſubjects done by him in the vacancy of a Parliament. The loſers uſually have leave to ſpeak, and ſo had the citizens.

All this Chriſtmas 1641, there was nothing but private whiſperings in Court, and ſecret councils held by the Queen, and her party, with whom the King ſat in council very late many nights. What was the particular reſult of thoſe clandeſtine conſultations, it will preſently appear.

January 4, 1641. By what ſiniſter council led, I know not, but the King in perſon went into the then Lower Houſe

Houſe of Parliament, where the Commons ſat, and for ſome things he had been informed of, demanded five of their principal members, *viz.* Pimm, Hollis, Hazlerigg, Hambden, and Stroud. In that book called his Portraiture, he affirms, he went to the Houſe of Commons to demand juſtice upon thoſe five members; and ſaith, 'He thought he 'had diſcovered ſome unlawful correſpondencies and engagements they had 'made to embroil his kingdoms.' He confeſſeth he miſſed but little of procuring ſome writings, &c. to make his thoughts good. So here is no evidence againſt theſe members, but his own thoughts, as himſelf confeſſeth. But aſſuredly, had he demanded juſtice of the Houſe of Commons againſt them, and proved his charge, he might have had it; but for himſelf to attach their bodies, and be Judge alſo (as he intended) was a matter moſt unequal. And ſurely, had it been in his power to have got their bodies, he would have ſerved theſe members as he did Elliot, whom without cauſe he committed to the tower, and never would either releaſe him, or ſhew cauſe of his commitment, till death.

All that time he had a guard with him at the doors of the Houſe of Parliament, conſiſting of many gentlemen with halberts

berts and ſwords. Truly, I did not hear there was any incivility offered by thoſe gentlemen then attending unto any member of the Houſe, his Majeſty having given them ſtrict commands to the contrary. This raſh action of the King's loſt him his Crown: for as he was the firſt of Kings that ever, or ſo imprudently, brake the privileges by his entrance into the Houſe of Commons aſſembled in Parliament; ſo by that unparalleled demand of his, he utterly loſt himſelf, and left ſcarce any poſſibility of reconcilement; he not willing to truſt them, nor they him, who had ſo often failed them. It was my fortune that very day to dine in Whitehall, and in that room where the halberts, newly brought from the tower, were lodged, for uſe of ſuch as attended the King to the Houſe of Commons. Sir Peter Wich, ere we had fully dined, came into the room I was in, and brake open the cheſts wherein the arms were, which frighted us all that were there. However, one of our company got out of doors, and preſently informed ſome members, that the King was preparing to come unto the Houſe; elſe I believe all thoſe members, or ſome of them, had been taken in the Houſe. All that I could do further was preſently to be gone. But it happened alſo the ſame day,

day, that ſome of my neighbours were at the court of guard at Whitehall, unto whom I related the King's preſent deſign, and conjured them to defend the Parliament and members thereof, in whoſe well or ill doing conſiſted our happineſs or misfortune: they promiſed aſſiſtance if need were, and I believe would have ſtoutly ſtood to it for defence of the Parliament, or members thereof. The King loſt his reputation exceedingly by this his improvident and unadviſed demand: yet notwithſtanding this his failing, ſo wilful and obſtinate he was in purſuance of that prepoſterous courſe he intended, and ſo deſirous to compaſs the bodies of theſe five members, that the next day he poſted and trotted into the city to demand the members there. He convened a meeting at Guildhall. The Common Council aſſembled: but mum could he get there, for the word London-Derry was then freſh in every man's mouth.

But whereas the author of the King's Portraiture complains, 'That the inſo-'lency of the tumults was ſuch, that his 'Majeſty's perſon was in danger in the 'ſtreets.' This is a very untruth: for notwithſtanding his Majeſty dined in the city that day he required the five members of the citizens, yet he had no incivility

civility in the leaſt meaſure offered unto his perſon; only many cried out as he paſſed the ſtreets, 'Sir, let us have our 'juſt liberties, we deſire no more.' Unto which he ſeveral times anſwered, 'They 'ſhould,' &c.

An honeſt citizen, as I remember, threw into his coach a new ſermon, the text whereof was, as I now remember, 'To thy tents, O Iſrael.' Indeed the citizens (unto their everlaſting honour be it ſpoken) did with much reſolution protect the five members: and many thouſands were willing to ſacrifice their lives for defence of the Parliament, and the ſeveral members thereof.

The tenth of January approached and came: upon which day the five demanded members were brought into the Houſe of Commons with as much triumph as could be expreſſed, ſeveral companies of trained bands marching to the Parliament to aſſiſt if need were. There were upon the River Thames I know not how many barges full of ſailors, having ſome guns ready charged, if occaſion were: and theſe alſo came in multitudes to ſerve the Parliament. A word dropped out of the King's mouth a little before, which loſt him the love of the ſeamen. Some being in conference with his Majeſty, acquainted him, that he was loſt in the affection

affection of the ſeamen, for they intended to petition the houſe, &c. 'I wonder,' quoth the King, 'how I have loſt the 'affection of thoſe water-rats.' A word ſure that ſlipped out of his mouth unadviſedly; for all men muſt and do know, that the ſhips of England, and our valiant ſailors, are the very ſtrength of England.

His Majeſty finding nothing thrived on his ſide, and ſeeing the abundant affection of the commonalty in general for the Parliament, the aforeſaid tenth of January 1641, went unto Hampton-Court, and never after could by entreaty, or otherwiſe, be drawn to come unto his Parliament, though they in moſt humble wiſe, and by many and ſeveral addreſſes, exceedingly deſired it. One misfortune follows another: for the 25th of February, 1641, the Queen went into Holland, and afterwards the King into Yorſhire. There was at this time a ſufficient magazine of arms in Hull, being the remainder of thoſe employed againſt the Scots. The Parliament ſent down a member of their own, one Sir John Hotham, to take care of them; who undertook, and alſo did maintain the town, and preſerve the arms therein for the Parliament. Although his Majeſty, in April 1642, came unto the walls of the town to require them, yet could

could he neither procure arms, or admittance into the town.

The Earl of Warwick, exceedingly beloved of the ſeamen, ſecured the navy; ſo that in few days the Parliament had ſtore of arms for land ſoldiers, and plenty of ſtout ſhips for their ſea occaſions. His Majeſty in the mean time being deſtitute both of the affections of his people, and means to ſupply an army, which it was perceived he intended ſhortly to raiſe, returned from viewing Hull unto York. The Parliament having perfect intelligence, and being aſſured he would raiſe an army againſt them, began to conſider of their preſent condition; whom to make their General; how to raiſe men and money for their own, and commonwealth's, defence. But one would have bleſſed himſelf to ſee what running and trotting away here was both of Lords and Commons unto his Majeſty. I do aſſure you a very thin houſe was left: of Lords who remained, Eſſex the people's darling was chief; a moſt noble ſoul, and generally well eſteemed: he in this exigency was by both houſes nominated and voted the Parliament's General. I do herein admire at the wonderful providence of Almighty God, who put it into the peoples hearts to make this man General, this very Earl, this

good

good man, who had ſuffered beyond belief, by the partial judgment of King James; who to ſatisfy the letchery of a luſtful Scot, took away Eſſex's wife (being a lewd woman) for one Carr, alias Somerſet; ſhe pretending Eſſex was *Frigidus in Coitu*, and old Jemmy believing it.

Had Eſſex refuſed to be General, our cauſe in all likelihood had ſunk in the beginning, we having never a Nobleman at that time, either willing or capable of that honour and preferment: indeed, ſcarce any of them were fit to be truſted. So that God raiſed up Eſſex to be a ſcourge for his ſon, whoſe father had ſo unjuſtly abuſed him. And for the Counteſs, ſhe had abundance of ſorrow ere ſhe died, and felt the divine hand of heaven againſt her; for ſhe was uncapable of coition at leaſt a dozen years ere ſhe died, having an impediment in that very member ſhe had ſo much delighted in and abuſed: and this I had from the mouth of one who ſaw her when bowelled. For Somerſet himſelf, he died a poor man, contemptible and deſpiſed of every man; and yet I never heard any ill of that Scotchman, except in this alone buſineſs concerning the Earl of Eſſex, and his wife. In this ſummer the citizens liſted themſelves plentifully

for

for ſoldiers. Horſe and arms were provided, and the Lord knows how many treacherous knaves had command in this firſt expedition in the Parliament army: ſo that if God himſelf had not been on our ſide, we muſt of neceſſity have periſhed.

The youth of the City of London made up the major part of Eſſex's infantry. His horſes were good, but the riders unſkilful; for they were taken up as they came and liſted, or offered themſelves unto the ſervice. The truth is, the Parliament were at that time glad to ſee any mens willingneſs and forwardneſs unto their ſervice; therefore they promiſed largely, and made ſome pleaſing votes; ſo that the plate and monies of the citizens came tumbling into Guildhall upon the publick faith.

His Majeſty in the interim, and at that time, was neceſſitated for money and arms extreamly, having no magazine to command, but thoſe of the northern counties; yea, into what other county ſoever he came (and he traverſed many) he was ſo courteous, as he made ſhift to ſeize their arms, and carry them along for his uſe, pretending for the ſafety of the people, and his perſon.

The King had lain moſt part at York, or rambled into ſome other counties near adjacent until Auguſt, and done little to

any

any purpoſe; for the ſeveral counties were generally nothing inclinable to his purpoſe: in moſt whereof, and in every county he came in, he rather received petty affronts than ſupport: yet at laſt he came to Nottingham, and there ſet up his STANDARD (with a full reſolution for war) the 22d of Auguſt, 1642, under this conſtellation, having ſome few horſe with him; but in great expectation of more aid from the Welch, &c. whom he thought moſt doted on monarchy.

The heralds, or at leaſt thoſe who then were with the King, were ignorant how,

and in what manner to ſet up the Standard Royal: they therefore hung it out in one of the turrets, or upper rooms of Nottingham Caſtle, within the Caſtle Wall. King Richard the Third ſet up his Standard there, &c. His Majeſty diſliked his Standard was placed within the caſtle. He ſaid it was to be placed in an open place, where all men that would might freely come unto it, and not in a priſon: they therefore carried it, at his command, without the caſtle, towards or into the park there adjoining, into an open place and eaſy of acceſs. When they came to fix it in the ground, they perceived it was a meer rock ſtone, ſo that they with daggers and knives made a ſmall hole for the Standard to be put in; but all would not ſerve; men were inforced for the preſent to ſupport it with the ſtrength of their arms and bodies; which gave great occaſion unto ſome gentlemen there preſent, to give a very ſad judgment on the King's ſide, and to divine long beforehand, that he would never do any good by arms. I have alſo heard, that in eight or ten days he had not thirty attended the Standard, or liſted themſelves.

All the remainder of his life after this Auguſt 22, 1642, was a meer labyrinth of ſorrow, a continued and daily misfor-

tune, unto which it ſeems providence had ordained him from the very entrance of his reign. His wars are wrote by ſeveral learned hands, unto whom I refer the reader. I ſhall only repeat a few more things of him, and then conclude. Favourites he had three; Buckingham ſtabbed to death; William Laud, and Thomas Earl of Strafford, both beheaded. Biſhops and Clergymen, whom he moſt favoured, and wholly advanced, and occaſionally ruined, he lived to ſee their biſhopricks ſold, the Biſhops themſelves ſcorned, and all the whole clergy of his party and opinion quite undone.

The Engliſh Noblemen he cared not much for, but only to ſerve his own turns by them: yet ſuch as had the unhappineſs to adventure their lives and fortunes for him, he lived to ſee them and their families ruined, only for his ſake. Pity it is many of them had not ſerved a more fortunate maſter, and one more grateful.

The Scots, his countreymen, on whom he beſtowed ſo many favours, he lived to ſee them in arms againſt himſelf; to ſell him for more money than the Jews did Chriſt, and themſelves to be handſomely routed, and ſold for knaves and ſlaves. They made their beſt market of him at all times, changing their affection with his fortune.

The old Prince of Orange he almoſt beggared, and yet to no purpoſe, the Parliament one time or other getting all arms and ammunition which ever came over unto him. It is confidently averred, if the King had become abſolute here in England, Orange had been King, &c.

The city of London, which he had ſo ſore oppreſſed and ſlighted, he lived to ſee thouſands of them in arms againſt him; and they to thrive, and himſelf conſume unto nothing. The Parliament, which he ſo abhorred, and formerly ſcorned, he lived to know was ſuperior unto him; and the ſcorns and ſlights he had uſed formerly to Elliot, and others, he ſaw now returned upon himſelf in folio.

With Spain he had no perfect correſpondency, ſince his being there; leſs after he ſuffered their fleet to periſh in his havens; leaſt of all, after he received an Ambaſſador from Portugal; the Spaniard ever upbraiding him with falſhood, and breach of promiſe. Indeed, the nativities of both Kings were very contrary.

With France he had no good amity; the Proteſtants there abhorring his leger-demain and treachery unto Rochelle; the Papiſts as little loving or truſting him, for ſome hard meaſure offered unto thoſe of their religion in England. He cunningly

ningly would labour to pleaſe all, but in effect gave ſatisfaction to none.

Denmark could not endure him; ſent him little or no aſſiſtance, if any at all: beſides, the old King ſuſpected another matter; and made a query in his drink.

The Swede extremely complained of him for nonperformance of ſome ſecret contract betwixt them, and uttered high words againſt him.

The Proteſtant PRINCES of Germany loathed his very name, &c.

The Portugal King and he had little to do; yet in one of his own letters to the Queen, though he acknowledges the Portugal's courteſy unto him, yet ſaith, that he would give him an anſwer unto a thing of concernment that ſhould ſignify nothing.

The Hollanders, being only courteous for their own ends, and as far as his money would extend, furniſhed him with arms at ſuch rates as a Turk might have had them elſewhere; but they neither loved or cared for him in his proſperity, or pitied him in his adverſity; which occaſioned theſe words to drop from him, 'If he ere came to his 'throne, he would make Hans Butter-box 'know, he ſhould pay well for his fiſhing, 'and ſatisfy for old knaveries,' &c.

In concluſion, He was generally unfortunate in the world, in the eſteem both

of friends and enemies: his friends exclaim on his breach of faith; his enemies would ſay, he could never be faſt enough bound. He was more lamented as he was a King, than for any affection had unto his perſon as a man.

He had ſeveral opportunities offered him for his reſtoring. Firſt, by ſeveral treaties, all ending in ſmoke, by his own perverſeneſs. By ſeveral opportunities and victories which he proſecuted not. Firſt, when Briſtol was cowardly ſurrendered by Fines: had he then come unto London, all had been his own; but loitering to no purpoſe at Glouceſter, he was preſently after well banged by Eſſex.

When in the weſt, *viz.* Cornwall, he worſted Eſſex: had he then immediately haſted to London, his army had been without doubt maſters of that city; for Mancheſter was none of his enemy at that time, though he was General of the aſſociated counties.

Or had he, ere the Scots came into England, commanded Newcaſtle to have marched ſouthward for London, he could not have miſſed obtaining the city, and then the work had been ended.

Or when in 1645, he had taken Leiceſter, if then he had ſpeedily marched for London, I know not who could have reſiſted him: but his camp was ſo overcharged

charged with plunder and Iriſh whores, there was no marching.

Amongſt many of his misfortunes, this I relate was not the leaſt; *viz.* when the Parliament laſt time were to ſend him propoſitions unto the Iſle of Wight, he had advice, &c. that the only way, and that there was no other means remaining upon earth to make himſelf happy, and ſettle a firm peace betwixt himſelf and Parliament, and to bring him out of thraldom, but by receiving our Commiſſioners civilly; to ſign whatever propoſitions they brought; and above all, to make haſte to London, and to do all things ſpeedily: he was willing, and he promiſed fairly to perform thus much. Our Commiſſioners were no ſooner come, but one of them, an old ſubtil fox, had every night private and long conference with him; to whom, when his Majeſty had communicated his intentions of ſigning the propoſitions, he utterly diſliked the deſign, and told him plainly, 'He 'ſhould come unto his Parliament upon 'eaſier terms; for he aſſured him, the 'Houſe of Lords were wholly his, and 'at his devotion.' This old man knew that well enough, himſelf being one of them: and in the Houſe of Commons he had ſuch a ſtrong party, that the propoſitions ſhould be mitigated, and made

more eaſy and more fit for him to ſign. Upon this, the old Lord was to be Treaſurer *apud Græcas Calendas*, and a cowardly ſon of his, Secretary of State. This was the laſt and greateſt misfortune ever befel him, to be thus ruled and fooled by that backſliding old Lord, who was never fortunate either to Parliament or commonwealth. But by this action, and the like, you may perceive how eaſily he was ever convertible unto the worſer advice. In like nature, the former time of propoſitions ſent unto him, when of himſelf he was inclinable to give the Parliament ſatisfaction unto their propoſitions, the Scots Commiſſioners pretending what their cold affectionate country would do for him: upon this their diſſembling, he had ſo little wit, as to ſlight the Engliſh, and confide in the Scots, though he well knew they only had been the ſole means of ruining him and his poſterity by their juggling, ſelling, and betraying him.

Whilſt he was in priſon at Cariſbrook-Caſtle, horſes were laid at ſeveral ſtages, both in Suſſex and Kent, purpoſely to have conveyed him to the Kentiſh forces, and to have been in the head of them, and with the revolted ſhips, if he could have eſcaped; and he was ſo near eſcaping, that his legs and body, even unto the breaſt, were out at the window: but whether fear

fear ſurpriſed him, or, as he ſaid himſelf, he could not get his body out of the window, being full-cheſted; he tarried behind, &c. and eſcaped not. Many ſuch misfortunes attended him; ſo that one may truly ſay, he was *Regum infeliciſſimus*. Some affirm before his death ſeveral prodigies appeared. All I obſerved a long time before, was, that there appeared almoſt in every year after 1664. ſeveral parelia, or mock-ſuns; ſometimes two, ſometimes three. So alſo mock-moons, or paraſelenes, which were the greateſt prodigies I ever obſerved or feared. He was beheaded January 30, 1648. The figure of that moment is as followeth.

After

After the execution, his body was carried to Windſor, and buried with Henry the VIIIth, in the ſame vault where his body was lodged. Some, who ſaw him embowelled, affirm, had he not come unto this untimely end, he might have lived, according unto nature, even unto the height of old age.

Many have curiouſly enquired who it was that cut off his head: I have no permiſſion to ſpeak of ſuch things; only thus much I ſay, he that did it, is as valiant and reſolute a man as lives, and one of a competent fortune †.

King Charles being dead, and ſome fooliſh citizens going a whoring after his picture or image, formerly ſet up in the Old Exchange; the Parliament made bold to take it down, and to engrave in its place theſe words:

Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ reſtitutæ primo, Anno Dom. 1648. Jan. 30.

For my part I do believe he was not the worſt, but the moſt unfortunate of Kings.

† See above, in Lilly's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, page 131, 132. where this ſecret is diſcovered.

Several

Several Engliſh Prophecies, relating to the Life and Death of CHARLES STUART, late King of Britain.

WE uſually ſay prophecies and oracles are beſt underſtood, when they are performed; many having complained of the ambiguity of oracles, and their ambodextrous interpretations; as many alſo finding fault with the obſcureneſs of prophecies, imagining no mortal men can give the proper ſenſe of any oracle or prophecy, except endued from above with the ſame divine ſpirits as were given unto the firſt authors. Were I to meddle with divine prophecies, I could tranſcend a volume in diſcourſe of this ſubject; but I have confined my preſent endeavours in the enſuing treatiſe, only to manifeſt unto the whole world, and this nation principally, the certain and unqueſtionable events, of very many Engliſh prophecies, long ſince delivered unto us, and ſtill remaining amongſt us, which have ſo clearly and manifeſtly declared the actions of theſe preſent times wherein we live, and with that lively portraiture, that it were the higheſt of incredulties to queſtion

queſtion their abilities in the gift of propheſying, or by unneceſſary and ambiguous queries to make the world believe there can be any other interpretation rendered of their ſayings, than ſuch as we have viſibly with our eyes beheld, even in this very age and time we now live in. And if any curious impertinent ſhall be ſo nice as to queſtion by what divine fury, or heavenly rapture infuſed into them, either by dreams, viſions, or any other nocturnal revelation, theſe reverend perſons became ſo wiſe, ſo foreknowing: I muſt firſt intreat ſuch criticks to acquaint me how, and by what means either the Sybils, or many others, and eſpecially Balaam the Prophet, came ſo truly to propheſy either of Chriſt, as the moſt learned believe he did, or of the kingdom of the Jews, or of both, in Numb. xxiv. ver. 17. 'Then ſhall come a 'ſtar out of Jacob, and a ſcepter ſhall 'ariſe out of Iſrael.' I willingly conſent with the ſeveral expoſitions of the learned upon thoſe words: yet do think it no herely, if I ſay Balaam intended, by the ſtar there mentioned, Jeſus Chriſt; and by the ſcepter, that the people or nation of the Jews, ſhould in future time become a great and mighty people, and have Kings to rule over them as other nations had at that preſent; whereas the Jews were

only

only governed by Moſes at that time: yet we know Balaam was not of the people of the Jews; and yet in the 16th verſe of that chapter he plainly ſaith, 'He heard the words of God, and knew 'the knowledge of the moſt High.' We muſt acknowledge that he propheſied very truly; for the ſcripture, againſt whoſe evidence there is no appeal to be made, confirms it. But if Balaam loved the ways of unrighteouſneſs, and laboured with that continued infirmity of the clergy and prieſthood, *viz.* covetouſneſs, let us lament and pity human kind, that ſo excellent a man as he in many things, ſhould blemiſh all his rare parts, with thoſe filthy, but pleaſing minerals, gold and ſilver.

If God Almighty, in thoſe times of ſo great darkneſs or heatheniſm, did not leave ſome kindoms deſtitute of prophetick ſpirits, though the true cauſes by which they did prophefy, lie concealed unto poſterity, or are manifeſted unto very few at preſent living; ſhall we now think, that in the pureſt times of Chriſtianity, God either hath been, or is leſs merciful than unto former ages he was? or that he is not as able or willing to infuſe into ſome Chriſtians the ſpirit of prophecy as into ſome heathens of old? How truly did Homer deliver that prophecy of Æneas,

many

many hundred years before it came to pass:

At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.

A prophecy it was of the greatness of the Roman empire; which we all know was fully verified. How true is also that of Seneca:

——— Venient Annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, &c.

Which was a prophecy of the discovery of the West-Indies and America, never known to the ancients, and to us not above one hundred and fifty years since. But I leave mentioning of heathen prophets, &c.

What shall we say of that prophecy of Henry the VIth, King of England, which he delivered so positively upon Henry the VIIth, then a boy, and holding water unto him: 'This is the lad or boy,' saith he, 'that shall enjoy the crown for which 'we strive.'

Or of David Upan or Unanthony, who many years since propheſied of the pulling down of Charing-Cross. His prophecy was printed 1558; the words are these:—

To

To tell the truth, many one would wonder,
Charing-Croſs ſhall be broken aſunder:
P. Shall preach, R. ſhall reach, S. ſhall ſtand ſtiff.

R. Signifies Round-head. P. Preſbytery. S. The Soldier, &c.

Charing-Croſs, we know, was pulled down 1647, in June, July, and Auguſt, part of the ſtones converted to pave before White-Hall. I have ſeen knive-hafts made of ſome of the ſtones, which being well poliſhed, looked like marble.

But I leave further determination of theſe things unto ſome other pen, or diſcourſe, and come unto the preſent intended diſcourſe itſelf, wherein I ſhall make it very clearly to appear, that all, or moſt of our ancient Engliſh, Welch, and Saxon prophecies, had relation to Charles Stuart, late King of England, unto his reign, his actions, life and death; and unto the now preſent times wherein we live, and unto no other preceding King or times whatſoever: which I prove only by this undeniable argument, *viz.* no King or Queen reigning in this nation or kingdom did ever write or ſtyle him or herſelf, King or Queen of Britain, before King James, who being naturally King of Scotland, and ſucceſſively of England and Wales, was the firſt that ever either

either really was King of all Britain, or that did ſo entitle himſelf; nor was ever any King crowned in white apparel but King Charles. Beſides there is a prophecy extant, and printed long before Queen Elizabeth died, *viz.*

When HEMPE is ſponne,
England's donne.

OR,

When HEMPE is come and alſo gon,
Scotland and England ſhall be one.

Which words intimate, that both Henry the VIIIth, Edward the VIth, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth, Kings and Queens of England, muſt firſt have reigned, before Merlin's Prophecy could take place: in King James both nations were united, and not before. Let me alſo add unto this, a very ancient prophecy of the Welch, *viz.*

Koronog fab Anē a wna ddiwedh ar y daroganeu.

In Engliſh thus:

The ſonne of Ann crowned, ends all our prophecies.

We

We never had yet any King whoſe mother's name was Anne; but King Charles's mother was Anne, ſiſter to the King of Denmark, late deceaſed.

The putting to death of the late King was propheſied of above eighty years before it was done, by Noſtradamus: the book itſelf was printed about 1578, as I remember in century the 9th: theſe are the words,

Senat de Londres mettront a mort leur Roy, *viz.*

The Senate or Parliament of London, ſhall put to death their King.

Theſe examples ſhew, that chriſtians have had the ſpirit of prophecy, and foretold plainly many ages before, what ſhould ſucceed.

The moſt ſignificant of all our Engliſh prophecies, is that of Ambroſe Merlin, which I have made choice of in the firſt place, repeating orderly a verſe of the prophecy, and then how it was fulfilled.

A Prophecy of the White King, wrote by Ambroſe Merlin, nine hundred years ſince, concerning CHARLES the late KING.

'WHEN the Lion of Rightfulneſſe is dead, then ſhall ariſe a White King in Brittaine, firſt flying, and after riding, after ligging downe, and in this ligg down, he ſhall be lymed, and after that he ſhall be led.'

We have ſeen with our own eyes, and thouſands beſides, firſt King James, who reigned peaceably, and was therefore called *Jacobus Pacificus*, is dead, *viz.* that ſtyling himſelf King of Great-Britain, and reigning two and twenty years, died 1625, the 27th of March. Many affirmed he had the picture of a lion on his breaſt or ſide; but it is probable he had ſome eminent natural mole there, which might cauſe that error; becauſe in his nativity he had both Saturn and Mars in Leone. In regard of the great tranquillity and peace we enjoyed in King James's time, and the little or no blood ſhed in his reign; and in conſideration of the propagation, and

and free admittance of the goſpel all over this kingdom, he was rightly by the Prophet ſtyled, 'The LION of Rightfulneſſe.' But if the Prophet had given him the name of Lion in any other ſenſe, he had notoriouſly failed; being King James was the moſt puſillanimous Prince of ſpirit that ever we read of, and the leaſt addicted unto martial diſcipline. But in judgment either in things divine or human (whilſt ſober or unbiaſſed) the moſt acute and piercing of any Prince either before or ſince. He was admoniſhed of his death by a dream. He dreamed that his maſter Buchanan appeared unto him in his ſleep, and gave him theſe two verſes. I thought good for the rarity thereof to repeat them.

Sexte verere Deum, tibi vitæ terminus inſtat,
Cum tua candenti flagrat carbunculus igne.

The Engliſh whereof is;

Thou James the VIth of that name, King of Scots, fear God, the term of thy life is near or at hand, when thy carbuncle-ſtone burns in the hot fire.

The King told his bed-chamber men, and ſome other Lords, of theſe verſes next morning, relating them really, and averred

he made not the verſes, nor could his maſter Buchanan ever almoſt get him to make a Latin verſe. The ſucceſs was thus: the King had a very large and fair carbuncle ſtone uſually ſet in his hat; and we have ſeen him pictured many times with ſuch a carbuncle fixed to his hat. But thus it happened: ſitting by the fire, not long after, this great carbuncle fell out of his hat, and into the fire: a Scottiſh Lord took it up, and obſerved the King ſickened, and alſo died very ſhortly after.

After King James was dead, Charles Stuart, his then only ſon, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, by a general conſent of the people, his title being unqueſtionable. The occaſion of the Prophet's calling him White King, was this: The Kings of England anciently did wear the day of their coronation purple cloaths, being a colour only fit for Kings: both Queen Elizabeth, King James, and all their anceſtors did wear that colour the day of their coronation, as any may perceive by the records of the wardrobes. Contrary unto this cuſtom, and led unto it by the indirect and fatal advice of William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was perſuaded to apparel himſelf the day of his coronation in a white garment. There were ſome dehorted him from wearing

wearing the white apparel, but he obſtinately refuſed their counſel. Canterbury would have it as an apparel repreſenting the King's innocency, or I know not what other ſuperſtitious device of his. And of this there is no queſtion to be made, myſelf, though not occularly ſeeing him that day, yet have had it related verbally by above twenty, whoſe eyes beheld it; one or two were workmen that carried his Majeſty's apparel that day; ſo that I challenge all the men upon earth living, to deny his wearing white apparel that day of his coronation, &c. It is alſo reported, and I believe it to be true, that ſuch was his haſte to have the crown upon his head, that he had not patience to wait the coming of the Archbiſhop, whoſe office it was to do it, but impatiently in great haſte, he placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; which moved the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, who was then preſent, to ſay, 'The King's putting 'the crown upon his head ſo raſhly with 'his own hands, was an ill omen.'

'Firſt flying.'

King Charles ſummons a Parliament, November 1640: the troubles of Scotland ariſing in 1641, he left the Engliſh Parliament ſitting, and went in perſon

himſelf to ſettle the diſturbed affairs of Scotland. He came home to London about November, and was himſelf and Queen royally entertained by the citizens, who cried then 'Hoſanna,' &c. But ſee how ſuddenly many of the ſame city cry 'Crucify, crucify.' For lo, in January 1641, the citizens of London, and other rude people, in great numbers flock down unto the Parliament, and affront the King, the Biſhops, and other temporal Lords: which rudeneſs and ſaucineſs of theirs, as himſelf pretended, moved him, the 10th of January, 1641, firſt to fly or remove unto Hampton-Court, then to Windſor, then into Kent, from thence into Yorkſhire; ſo that all the remainder of his life, until he ſurrendered his perſon to the Scots, was running and flying from one place to another. I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge, my eyes were witneſs of very great rudeneſs in the citizens, and of as great a defect of civility and judgment in ſome courtiers, unto thoſe ill-bred citizens.

'And after riding.'

The firſt horſe his Majeſty raiſed, were in Yorkſhire, and theſe in or about July, Auguſt, and September, 1642, pretending they were for a guard for his perſon: from

from which time, until the very time he rendered himſelf to his countrymen the Scots, which was May, 1646, he had an army of horſe, and was frequently himſelf amongſt them: though it is not once reported himſelf ever charged, as he was ſometimes invited unto it by the Lord Charles Gerrard, a moſt gallant man, who would ſay unto him many times, 'CHARGE, SIR,' &c. And indeed, who would have loſt three kingdoms, without firſt loſing ſome blood in the quarrel!

'After ligging downe.'

From the time of his own voluntary rendition unto the Scots, until his dying day, he was never in the head of an army, but did ligg down or lie ſtill, and was carried up and down from one place to another as a priſoner: yet had he very great liberty until he diſcharged himſelf of his own word or parol at Hampton-Court, and immediately eſcaped to the Iſle of Wight.

'In this ligg down he ſhall be lymed.'

During the time of his impriſonment, or from that time the Scots ſold his perſon unto us for two hundred thouſand pounds,

it may properly be ſaid, 'In this ligg down 'he ſhall be lymed,' that is, he was attempted and allured firſt by one ſide, then another; or he was ſeveral times, and by ſeveral occaſions, tempted or treated withal, (every one thinking themſelves ſureſt who poſſeſſed his perſon) ſometimes by the Scots, other times by the Engliſh, as well Parliament as army: but notwithſtanding all overtures, his perſon was ſtill ſafe looked unto, &c.

'And after that he ſhall be led.'

After that propoſitions had been preſented unto him at Hampton-Court, and laſt of all at the Iſle of Wight, he refuſing to ſign them, or give ſuch ſatisfaction as was required; from that time, *viz.* from December, 1648, until his death, he was led, *viz.* he was more ſtrictly guarded and impriſoned than ever; nor from that time had the benefit of his liberty as formerly he had had, but was removed firſt to one caſtle, then to another; then to Windſor, then laſt of all to Whitehall. So that moſt properly he may be ſaid to be now led. For I dare ſwear he went and came into all theſe places moſt unwillingly.

'And

'And there ſhall be ſhewed whether 'there be another King.'

Since King Charles did retreat from his Parliament, they on the behalf of the commonwealth acted as Kings, uſing regal command, raiſing armies, monies, taxes, & *quid non*, breaking his Majeſty's Great Seal, making a new one of their own, and ſince have altered the frame of government, and converted monarchy into a commonwealth.

'Then ſhall bee gadered togather much 'folk, and he ſhall take helpe for him.'

How many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, and what numbers of the commonalty aſſiſted him, we know, and they who were his aſſiſtants do well to their coſt remember: for indeed, the greateſt part of the nobility, and gentry, and prieſthood, moſt cordially and unanimouſly followed him, and aſſiſted him to the hazard of their lives, and conſumption of eſtates. And we know, even whilſt he was in Cariſbrook-Caſtle, what a rebellion was raiſed by Goring, and others, &c. in Kent and Eſſex 1648, beſides that great army of Scots and Engliſh routed in Lancaſhire.

'And

'And there ſhall be merchandiſe of men,
'as of an horſe or an ox.'

This part of the prophecy was exactly verified in King Charles's, or the White King's Time; for in 1648, after the defeat of the wretched Scots in Lancaſhire, the Engliſh merchants did give money for as many of the common ſoldiers as were worth any thing, and ſent them for Barbadoes and other foreign plantations. Some were ſold dear, others cheap, according to the quality of the perſon or profeſſion he was of. It is reported, that many of thoſe miſerable wretches, ſince their being at the Barbadoes, do ſay, they have left hell, *viz.* Scotland, and are arrived into heaven. There was in 1644, 1645, &c. exchanging of ſoldiers and priſoners; but in 1648, abſolute merchandiſing of mens bodies, and not before. What price the Scots were ſold for, I know not: he that gave but twelve pence apiece for any of that naſty people, gave too much.

'There ſhall bee ſought helpe, and there
'ſhall none ariſe, but bed for head.'

What Prince or State of Europe, was not attempted ſince 1642, unto 1648, to aſſiſt his late Majeſty? but in vain. Providence

vidence being not to be deluded by any mortal man: each man that aſſiſted, had only a bed for his head, *viz.* a grave or piece of earth for his burial. And how many royal Engliſh families, both of gentry and nobles, I pity to relate, who have miſcarried for his ſake.

'And then ſhall one gone there the ſun 'ariſeth, another there the ſun gone 'downe.'

Intimating no more, but that the fear and ſadneſs of thoſe times ſhould be ſuch, as ſhould cauſe ſeveral perſons to leave this kingdom or nation, for their ſafety, as many nobles and gentry, who took part with him did, ſome going to Holland, others to France, others to ſeveral countries, as their fancies or occaſions led them: or it may import his Majeſty ſhould go Eaſtward or North-Eaſt, as he did when he went firſt to the Scots; and the Queen before went Weſtward or South-Weſt, *viz.* to France. I pity exceedingly the ſad condition of many noble families, which ſtill to this day continue, in foreign parts, poor, beggarly, and in a moſt uncomfortable condition.

'After this, it ſhall be ſaid by Britain, '(King is King,) King is no King: after 'this hee ſhall raiſe his head, and he 'ſhall be taken to be a King.'

After

After he went to the Scots, and whilſt he was in durance, he was treated with both by England and Scotland, as a King. Yet afterwards it appeared he had not the power of a King, to conclude any thing: nay, afterward our Parliament made a vote,

'That no Addreſſes ſhould be made unto 'him any more.'

But that vote was repealed, and addreſſes were made, but to no purpoſe. So that the Prophet ſaid well, 'Sometimes King; 'after, King is no King,' &c.

'Bee many things to done, but wiſe men 'reading, &c. and then ſhall a range of 'gleeds, and ever each hath bereaving, 'he ſhall have it for his owne.'

I conceive this intimates no more than the multiplicity of affairs in theſe times: but whether by the range of gleeds, he intend either the Parliament themſelves, or the army, or the Parliament's ſub-officers, I know not. I conceive here are ſome words wanting in the copy, which might lead to explain theſe words, *viz.*

'And hee ſhall have it for his owne.'

Unleſs

Unleſs it be intended, thoſe meant by the range of gleeds, *viz.* great oppreſſors, or thoſe who then rule or command, ſhall have all for their own; the Latin copy hath no more, but

Poſt hæc erit tempus milvorum, & quod quiſque rapuerit, pro ſuo habebit.

Viz. After theſe things, it ſhall be a time of kites or gleeds, and what every man can get or purloin, he will take it for his own. And this ſeems to be the genuine ſenſe of it: for how many very poor men have we known to arrive unto great eſtates, ſince theſe times, even to thouſands a year and more? Some, I know myſelf, were men of very mean fortunes in the beginning of this Parliament, that are now ſo elevated, ſo proud, ſo rich, ſo arrogant, having had a hand in ſome publick employments, they ſcorn their kindred and country, forget their birth and that neighbourhood which brought them to this height of honour: and although like poor ſneaks they came to London in leather-breeches, and in 1642 were but vulgar fellows; yet now coach it with four or two horſes, are impudent, becauſe in authority: yet to require ſome of theſe, to write true Engliſh, or ſpeak ſenſe, were to command a

f—t

f—t from a dead man: but ſuch as theſe muſt know, if they have good eſtates as that they have, we of the commonalty muſt have an account of our treaſure.

'And this ſhall laſt ſeven yeares, loe 'ravening and ſhedding of bloud.'

If we conſider that our wars began in *Anno* 1642, we ſhall then find that our diſtempers and wars have continued ſeven whole years, within our own kingdom; for one copy hath it,

Et ſeptennio durabit guerra intra.

The war ſhall endure ſeven years within the bowels of the kingdoms: and whereas he mentions ravening, I conceive where the ſoldier is quartered, that action of ravening cannot be avoided. England hath felt free quarter, both of her own countrymen, and of the Scots and Scotiſh army, who were the trueſt harpies that ever lived, ſtealing and purloining where-ever they came, even unto a diſh-clout. You ſhall have one example of two Scots in Lancaſhire 1648, quartered there in a poor houſe, where they got a kettle of braſs, being all their poor landlord had, and having it on the fire with oatmeal boiling in ale or milk; an alarum comes, and

and one of their own countrymen paſſes by and invites theſe two ſoldiers to run away, for all was loſt. But ſee their villany, and preſent reward of theſe two fools: away they trudge, but carry the kettle and porridge on a ſtaff betwixt them, their landlord in vain crying out for his kettle. But it pleaſed God an honeſt trooper of ours, making haſte to purſue the knaves, ſlew both theſe gluttons, and ſo returned the kettle to the right owner.

'And ovens ſhall be made like kirkes or 'churches.'

If it were not publickly done in many places of this kingdom before 1646, *viz.* that churches were many times as beaſtly as ovens: yet in 1648, and 1649, Paul's church was made a horſe-guard, and ſo continued until of late.

After, 'Then ſhall come through the 'ſouth with the ſun, on horſe of tree, 'the chicken of the eagle ſayling into 'Brittaine, and arriving anone to the Houſe 'of the eagle, hee ſhall ſhew fellowſhip to 'them beaſts.'

Here the copies vary exceedingly, one ſaying only,

Deinde

Deinde Pullus Aquilæ veniet ſuper ligneos equos anno & ſenio & erit guerra in Brittania.

Viz. After the chicken of the eagle ſhall come upon wooden horſes within a year and a half, and there ſhall be war in Britain.

Another copy hath it thus:

Deinde ab auſtro veniet cum ſole ſuper ligneos Equos; & ſunio ſpumantem inundationem maris, pullus aquilæ navigans in Britanniam, *& applicans ſtatim tunc altam domum aquilæ ſitiens & cito aliam ſitiet,* viz.

Afterwards the chicken of the Eagle ſhall come with the Sun upon wooden Horſes, &c.

Verily, in a former treatiſe of ours, we were not much eſtranged from verity: yet our modeſty was ſuch, and our reſpect to his Majeſty's perſon, we were in many things ſilent. But upon further conſideration, this chicken of the eagle will prove one of his Majeſty's children. And we remember, that the preſent Scots King did about July 1648, upon the South or South-Eaſt coaſt of England, come in perſon unto the revolted ſhips: he landed, or was victualled at Yarmouth, and then ſailed towards Kent, but without ſucceſs: He alſo after that attempted Yarmouth,

but that attempt proved ſucceſſleſs. But whereas, the prophecy mentions, 'He 'ſhould ſhew (fellowſhip unto them 'beaſts.)' Theſe words are in no Latin copy that I have ſeen: however, at that time of the Prince's being at ſea, here was no treaty or overture either offered by him unto the Parliament, or by them unto him; only the reſt of the ſhips, which revolted not, were ſeveral ways dealt with to deliver them up unto him.

If by the eagle be intended King Charles lately dead, as doubtleſs he was, the chicken of the eagle muſt of conſequence then be one of his children, and the preſent King of Scotland; and then the words may have this ſenſe: That the Prince at that time ſhould be deſirous of getting ſome footing or landing-place in Kent (called here the High Houſe of the Eagle) in regard Dover-Caſtle ſtandeth in Kent on a rock: but failing there, he made his journey to Yarmouth, and ſo was deſirous to procure that town: but herein he alſo was deceived. It is evident that the late King was the Eagle; for he did nothing but fly or ride up and down, during ſome years, before his reſtraint: and it muſt of neceſſity then follow, that the chicken here mentioned is the Scots King; for the chicken is mentioned before the death of the King to

come from the East; and ſo the Prince did upon wooden horſes, *viz.* ſhips. It is true, the Prince got a caſtle or two in Kent, but to no purpoſe.

'After a year and a halfe ſhall be war 'in Britain.'

This ſhews a continuance of the wars, either abroad or at home for ſome certain time, or ſeveral years. And we know in 1646, that moſt excellent man the Lord Fairfax had even ended our wars; but lo, in 1648, ſeveral revolts and rebellions appeared againſt the Parliament; beſides the Scotiſh treacherous invaſion; all which manifeſt a continuance as it were of the wars: nor are we yet quit of wars, or ſhall be for ſome time hereafter.

'Then ſhall a ſooth be nought worth, 'and every man ſhall keepe his thing, 'and 'gotten other mens goods.'

It is in Latin, *Tunc nihil valebit Mercurius.*

Theſe words ſay only thus much, that after that time, when the chicken of the eagle, or prince of Wales, at that time ſhould either perſonally land himſelf, or ſet on ſhore ſome forces of his in any part of England, which was in July 1648, or Auguſt;

Auguſt; that then, and from that time, there would be no faith given to words, or any peace come from treaties: and we well know with what difficulty the laſt treaty with his Majeſty was obtained. The Parliament had juſt cauſe to fear no good would come from thence. The White King, who ever loved to fiſh in troubled waters, gave ſuch ambiguous anſwers unto the Parliaments' propoſitions, as ſignified nothing. Whereupon, conſidering the great engagement which lay upon them, they at laſt reſolved,

Immedicabile vulnus enſe recidendum. And ſo it was.

For verification of the latter part:

Sed quiſque curabit quomodo, &c.

That every man, who under the Parliament hath pilled, poled, or cheated the people; or any Parliament-man, who hath by the ruin of the commonwealth inriched himſelf, will be careful to preſerve his ill gotten goods, I do as verily believe, as I do that there is a GOD in Heaven.

'After the White King feeble ſhall goe 'towards the weſt, beclipped about with

'his folke to the old place been running 'water.'

It is in the Latin;

Ibit Rex debilis verſus occidentem.

At what time His Majeſty went from Hampton-Court, he went feeble, *viz.* accompanied with no more than two or three (a feeble company for a King); and he then went to the Iſle of Wight, and there ſurrendred himſelf to one Hammond, governour of Cariſbrough-Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight. That caſtle ſtands near or upon the water. From this time of his ſurrendring himſelf unto Hammond, he was beclipped or ſtraitly looked unto by the ſoldiers. This is that Hammond, as the King himſelf acknowledged at Windſor, unto Ad. A. who furniſhed him with that ſmutty ſheet Elenchicus; which accuſed me of connivance with one How of Glouceſterſhire, about Arabella Scroop, one of the natural daughters of the Earl of Sunderland. I challenge the whole world, and both How and his wife, and Hammond, to declare publickly, if I had the leaſt engagement, or did give the leaſt advertiſement of any meeting of theirs in the Spring-garden, or had any connivance or plot in their deſign: all that

that ever I did, was a reſolution of two or three horary queſtions, which promiſed the enjoyment of the woman. Not having met with a fit opportunity of the preſs, ſince that ſlander caſt upon me, I took liberty herein to repeat this matter; giving that cavalier my moſt hearty thanks, that in publick took the pains to vindicate my reputation: and although I never had the happineſs, ſince that his vindication of me, to ſee him; yet let my acknowledgment of that his courteſy be accepted from him. Indeed, that oracle of the law, whilſt he lived, Sir Robert Holborne, Knight, and my ſingular friend, both acquainted me of the man, and his great labour to ſift out the matter wholly, ere committed to the preſs. The Lord guide me in my ways, for I ſeriouſly proteſt unto poſterity, I never received ſuch injurious aſperſions or calumnies, from thoſe who in reaſon had cauſe to be my enemies, *viz.* the Royaliſts, as from many of our own party, or ſuch as will or would be called Roundheads. Had not the virtue and honour of one not to be paralleled member of Parliament, been ever my ſupport and defender, I had buried my conceptions in ſilence, and ſmothered my endeavours in deep obſcurity. For really, ſo great is my reſpect and affection unto this honourable perſon, that

were my fortune neceſſitous (as GOD be thanked it is not) I durſt not, nay, I would not do any diſhoneſt or unbecoming action; fearing it might trench upon the honour of that all, and nothing but all gentleman, who lives only, and deſires to live no longer, than he may ſerve this commonwealth, without doing injuſtice to any particular perſon, or oppreſſion, or any thing that is diſhonorable to the commonwealth, Parliament, or army. O, I abhor the incivility and abſurdity of one now in ſome authority for the Parliament, who hearing a ſcandalous aſperſion againſt me, without further enquiry, proteſted he would be mine enemy, if I ever came before him, &c.

'Then his enemies ſhall meet him, and 'March in her place ſhall be ordained about 'him, an hoaſt in a manner of a ſhield, 'ſhall be formed; then ſhall they fighten 'an oven front.'

When His Majeſty was brought from the Iſle of Wight to Windſor, he was guarded before and behind, and on every ſide, with ſeveral troops of horſe, ſo that it was impoſſible he ſhould eſcape; ſo that it might well be ſaid, he was in the midſt of an oven, &c.

'After

'After the White King ſhall fall into a 'kirkyard, over a hall.'

We may juſtly wonder, how exactly this was fulfilled in the death of King Charles, or the White King. The truth of it was thus: that ſome few nights before his death, he was brought to Whitehall, the regal ſeat of his progenitors: againſt the day of his death a ſcaffold was framed over againſt the new Banqueting-Houſe, built by King James: and when the King went unto execution, a way or paſſage was made out at one of the weſt windows for him, to paſs out unto the ſcaffold, where his head was cut off. So that very pertinently it was prophefied, he ſhould fall into a churchyard over a hall.

What manner of death the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould die †.

It may appear to all indifferent minded men, the verity and worth of aſtrology by this queſtion; for there is not any amongſt the wiſeſt of men in this world could better have repreſented the perſon and condition of this old man, his preſent ſtate and condition, and the manner of his death, than this preſent figure of heaven doth.

† See, Mr. Lilly's Chriſtian Aſtrology, 4to.

Being

Being a man of the church, his aſcendant is Capricornus, the cuſp of the ninth houſe: Saturn is lord of the ſign, now in Aries his fall; a long time retrograde, and now poſited in the twelfth of the figure, or fourth from his aſcendant; ſo that the heavens repreſent him in condition of mind, of a violent ſpirit, turbulent and envious, a man involved in troubles, impriſoned, &c. Jupiter, a general ſignificator of churchmen, doth ſomewhat alſo repreſent his condition, being of that eminency he was of in our commonwealth. Jupiter, as you ſee, is retrograde, and with many fixed ſtars of the nature of Mars and Luna? an argument he was deep laden with misfortunes, and vulgar clamours, at this preſent.

The Moon is lady of the fourth in the figure, but of the eighth as to his aſcendant: ſhe ſeparates from Saturn, and applies to the oppoſition of the ſun, near the cuſp of the eighth-houſe. Sol in a fiery ſign; applying to an oppoſition of Mars, the diſpoſitor of the aged Biſhop. Mars being in an airy ſign and humane, from hence I judged that he ſhould not be hanged, but ſuffer a more noble kind of death, and that within the ſpace of ſix or ſeven weeks, or thereabouts; becauſe the Moon wanted ſeven degrees of the body of Mars.

He

He was beheaded about the 10th of January following.

I write not theſe things as that I rejoiced at his death; no, I do not: for I ever honoured the man, and naturally loved him, though I never had ſpeech or acquaintance with him. Nor do I write theſe lines without tears, conſidering the great uncertainty of human affairs. He was a liberal Mæcenas to Oxford, and produced as good manuſcripts as any were in Europe to that univerſity, whereby the learned muſt acknowledge his bounty: Let his imperfections be buried in ſilence, *Mortuus eſt; & de mortuis nil niſi bonum*, Yet I account him not a martyr, as one aſs did; for by the ſentence of the greateſt court of England, viz. the Parliament, he was brought to his end.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF THAT

LEARNED ANTIQUARY,

ELIAS ASHMOLE, Esq.

Drawn up by himſelf by way of Diary.

With an APPENDIX of

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

Publiſhed by CHARLES BURMAN, Eſq.

MEMOIRS

THE PREFACE.

THE bare mention of the perſon, whoſe Diary and Letters are now publiſhed, may ſufficiently ſatisfy the world from whence they originally came, and where they are ſtill preſerved. The copy, from whence theſe papers are publiſhed, is in the hand-writing of Robert Plot, L. D. late profeſſor of chymiſtry, chief keeper of the Aſhmolean Muſæum in the univerſity of Oxford, and ſecretary of the Royal Society; and was by him tranſcribed for the uſe of a near relation of Mr. Aſhmole's, a private gentleman in Staffordſhire, who has been pleaſed to think they may be acceptable to the world for their exactneſs and ſingularity. They were collated a few years ſince by David Parry, M. A. of Jeſus College in Oxford, and head-keeper of the ſame place, who corrected from the original manuſcript (*a*) ſome few literal errors. The character of Mr. Aſhmole is ſo well known,

(*a*) Inter MSS. Aſhmol. Oxon. Num. 1136.

and

and ſo excellently, though conciſely drawn in theſe papers, as well as in that article publiſhed under his name, in the Supplement to the learned Mr. Collier's Hiſtorical Dictionary, partly extracted from theſe materials by the juſtly celebrated Mr. Edward Llwyd, ſuperior bedel of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, that no recommendation of an obſcure editor can be of any ſervice, after ſo noted names. The uſefulneſs of this kind of works I ſhall not deſcant upon: but only ſay thus much, That they let us into the ſecret hiſtory of the affairs of their ſeveral times; diſcover the ſprings of motion; and diſplay many valuable, though minute circumſtances overlooked, or unknown to our general Hiſtorians; and, to conclude all, ſatiate our largeſt curioſity.

Newington,
Feb. 17, 16-7.

CHARLES BURMAN.

THE

THE LIFE OF ELIAS ASHMOLE, Esq.

I ELIAS ASHMOLE, was the ſon and only child of Simon Aſhmole of Litchfield, ſadler, eldeſt ſon unto Mr. Thomas Aſhmole of the ſaid city, ſadler, twice chief bailiff of that corporation; and of Anne, one of the daughters of Anthony Bowyer of the city of Coventry, draper, and Bridget his wife, only daughter to Mr. . . . . Fitch of Auſley in the county of Warwick, gentleman.

I was born the 23d. of May 1617, (and as my dear and good mother hath often told me) near half an hour after 3 a clock in the morning.

When I rectified my nativity, An. 1647. I found it to be 3 hours 25 minutes 49 ſeconds A. M. the quarter ♌ of ♊ aſcending. But upon Mr. Lilly's rectification

tion thereof, Anno 1667, he makes the quarter 36 aſcending. I was baptized, the the 2d of June following, at St. Mary's church in Litchfield. My godfathers were Mr. Chriſtopher Baxter, one of the proctors of the Biſhop's Court, and Mr. . . . . Offey, ſacriſt of the cathedral church.

Before I was carried to church, it was agreed my name ſhould be Thomas (as was my grandfather). But, when the miniſter had name the child, my godfather Offey anſwered Elias, at which his partners wondered; and being (at their return home) aſked, why he ſo called me, he could render no account, but that it came ſuddenly into his mind, by a more than ordinary impulſe of ſpirit. My godmother's name was Mrs. Bridges.

When I was about a year old, and ſet by the fire, I fell into it, and burned the right ſide of my forehead, it reſting upon the iron bar of the grate (of which a ſcar always remained) but my good mother being near, preſently took me up, and applied ſomething for my cure.

I had the ſmall-pox (yet but few) as alſo the ſwine-pox and the meaſles, when I was young; but know not the certain time of either.

Being about 8 or 10 years old (but the year I cannot remember) my mother

and

and I were invited to my Couſin Black-burn's in Long Pariſh; at that time they were building of a barn, and I getting up by ladders to the top thereof, fell down; in which fall the inſide of my right knee ſtruck againſt the edge of a great beam, which thereby received a deep triangular gaſh, of which I lay a long time before it was cured.

James Pagit, Eſq; ſome time Puiſne Baron of the Exchequer, married to his ſecond wife, Bridget, one of my mother's ſiſters, and widow to ..... Moyre, a confectioner in London. He had a ſiſter, who firſt was married to Dr. Maſters Chancellor of Litchfield; and after, to Dr. Twiſden his ſucceſſor in the ſaid Chancellorſhip.

Thomas Pagit his ſecond ſon (the chief inſtrument of my future preferments, which I acknowledge with all gratitude to his memory) being much beloved of his aunt Twiſden, came often to Litch-field, when he was young; whoſe ſtay there, as it occaſioned an acquaintance with my mother (ſiſter to his mother-in-law) ſo it begat in him an affection to-wards me; inſomuch, as having given ſome good character of me to his father, he became inclined to have me ſent up to London: And becauſe he and his ſons were greatly affected to muſick, and very

well ſkilled therein, he was deſirous I ſhould ſpend part of my time at the muſick ſchool (having before ſpent all at the grammar ſchool); and being competently grounded therein, I became a choriſter in the cathedral church, where I remained till the ſaid Baron ſent for me up to his houſe.

Mr. Meſſenger, and after him Mr. Toby Henchman taught me Latin.

Mr. Henry Hinde, organiſt of the cathedral, who died the 6th of Auguſt, 1641, taught me the virginets and organ.

1633. The 2d of July I began my journey from Litchfield: my father and mother brought me onward to the far end of Baſſet's heath.

The 5th of July, about 11 o'clock before noon, I entred London.

16 July, the before-mentioned Mrs. Twiſden died of the *iliaca paſſio*, and was buried the 18th following, in Litchfield cathedral, in a chapel on the right hand of the Lord Baſſet's tomb; where was a monument for Dr. Maſters and herſelf, but broken down by the ſoldiers in the Parliament war.

4 October, Mr. John Perſon, a phyſician in Coventry (who had my mother's eldeſt ſiſter) was buried.

1634. My father died about eleven o'clock before noon.

22. Mr. Simon Martin's letter, which gave me notice of his death, bears date, the 22d of June.

My father was born upon a Whitſunday in the morning.

He was bred up by his father to his trade; yet when he came to man's eſtate, followed it but little: He more affected war, than his profeſſion, and ſpent many of his years abroad, which drew on him a courſe of expences and ill-huſbandry. His firſt voyage was into Ireland, with Robert Earl of Eſſex, Anno 159... Two other voyages he afterwards made, with his ſon, Robert Earl of Eſſex into the Palatinate, from whom he received good reſpect. He was an honeſt fair conditioned man, and kind to others; yet through ill huſbandry, became a great enemy to himſelf and poor family.

1635. In this year I was taught on the harpſichord, by Mr. Farmelow, who lay in St. Michael's church-yard in Cornhill, and continued learning with him till 31 Jan. 1635-6.

11 July. I came to live at Mount-Pleaſant, near Barnet, and ſtayed there the reſt of the ſummer.

1637. Auguſt 21. I came to Small-wood, to Mr. Peter Mainwaring's, to aſk his conſent to marry his daughter.

September 4. The ſecond time I went to Smallwood.

16. I returned to London.

1638. Jan. 23. I came from Mr. Juſtinian Pagitt.

March 27. I was married to Mrs. Eleanor Mainwaring, eldeſt daughter to Mr. Peter Mainwaring, and Jane his wife, of Smallwood in Com. Ceſt. gent. She proved a virtuous good wife. The marriage was in St. Benedict's church, near Paul's Wharf, by Mr. Adams, parſon there.

July 16. I and my wife went towards her father's in Cheſhire, about four, *poſt merid.* where he arrived the 22d of July.

30. I took poſſeſſion of my houſe at Litchfield.

September 10. My uncle Thomas Aſhmole, cauſed a privy ſeſſions to be called at Litchfield, whereby I had ſome trouble about my houſe there: The bill was found *ignoramus*.

October 8. I came to London.

In Michaelmas term I began to ſolicit in Chancery, and had indifferent good practice.

December 20. I went from London towards Cheſhire.

This term I preferred a bill in Chancery againſt my uncle Thomas Aſhmole.

1639. Jan. 28. I returned from Smallwood to London.

About the beginning of March, Catherine wife to my brother Mr. Peter Mainwaring, and one of the daughters and coheirs of Mr. Newton of Pownall in com. Ceſt. came to full age.

March 5. *Poſt merid.* my ſiſter Ann Mainwaring, was brought to bed of her firſt child.

In Trinity term (as I think) I became acquainted with Dr. Thomas Cademan the Queen's phyſician: About the beginning of July, Peter Venables, Baron of Kinderton wrote to me, to take upon me the management of his law buſineſs.

Auguſt 1. I went from London towards Smallwood

5. I arrived at Smallwood.

October 12. I and my wife returned towards London, beginning our journey from Smallwood this day.

October 20. I began to keep houſe, being arrived at London, this day.

1640. Jan. 11. My wife's ſiſter Mrs. Mary Mainwaring, fell ill of an ague, and having had five fits;

20. She took her bed.

February 6. 1 *Poſt merid.* She died, and was buried in the church of St. Clement Danes, near the entrance into the chancel. She had a very handſome fune-

ral, with escutcheons of her arms, in a lozenge, pinned upon her velvet pall.

18. My cousin Philip Mainwaring (a younger son of the house of Keringham) married Mary the daughter and coheir of Sir John Miller of Islington.

May 14. Mr. Driver married Mrs. Miller, the other coheir.

April 4. I took lodgings in St. Clement's Lane.

May 19. My wife was brought to bed of a female child, still-born, about noon, which was buried the next day.

June 9. I was presented to the Lord Keeper Finch, and on the 12th, entertained by him upon the recommendation of my worthy friend Dr. Cademan.

About the beginning of September, my wife fell ill of a fever.

October 31. I removed myself to a chamber in the Middle Temple, in Elm Court, lent me by Mr. Thomas Pagit.

December 11. Joan Morgan, my maid, died of the small pox.

1641. January 18. I began my journey from Smallwood to London.

28. I entered London.

February 4. Mr. Hill moved me to an agreement with my uncle Thomas Ashmole.

February 6. I was admitted of Clement's Inn.

February

February 11. I was ſworn an attorney in the court of Common Pleas.

April 22. William Clark came to London to be my ſervant, he continued with me until 1645.

24. He came to dwell with me.

May. About the beginning of May, my maid Elizabeth Coley fell ſick of the plague, but eſcaped.

3. I borrowed of my couſin Ripling-ham 70*l.* and paid it 29 June.

June 21. My brother Mainwaring received 200*l.* from Mr. Simon Ives, upon a mortgage of Smallwood.

22. I was bound with my brother, for performance of covenants, about the beginning of June. Towards the end of Trinity Term I was ſick for 3 or 4 days.

Auguſt 11. I went to Windſor, upon ſome buſineſs for Dr. Cademan, being the firſt time I ſaw that caſtle.

September 20. I and my wife went towards Smallwood.

23. We came to Litchfield.

October 12. My wife quickened.

October 25. I went towards London, leaving my wife behind me; becauſe big with child.

29. I came to London.

30. I came to lodge in my chamber at Clement's Inn.

December 5. My dear wife fell ſuddenly ſick about evening, and died (to my own grief, and the grief of all her friends). She was buried the next night about nine of the clock in the Aſtbury church in Cheſhire, near the entrance of the ſouth aiſle of that church, *viz.* the Weſt end of that aiſle.

December 14. I went from London towards Cheſhire.

1642. Arriving at Litchfield, I firſt heard of my wife's death. She was a virtuous, modeſt, careful, and loving wife: her affection was exceeding great towards me, as was mine to her, which cauſed us to live ſo happily together. Nor was I leſs beloved and eſteemed both by her father and mother, inſomuch as at her funeral, her mother ſitting near the corps, with tears, profeſſed to the Baron of Kinderton's lady (who after told it to me) and others preſent, that ſhe knew not whether ſhe loved me or her only ſon better.

18. I came to Smallwood.

1642. January 16. I viſited my dear wife's grave.

January 18. I came from Smallwood.

28. I arrived at London.

February 3. Mr. Juſtinian Pagit having propoſed to me one of his clerk's places in the *Niſi Prius* office the 10th day of December laſt; but finding the terms

terms too hard, I this day reſigned it up.

March 7. I removed my goods to my chamber at Clement's Inn, and lay there.

Auguſt 9. Mr. Hutchinſon of Clement's Inn, and myſelf, took a journey, firſt to ſee my old ſchool-maſter Mr. Hinchman, at Drayton in Buckinghamſhire, then to Oxford, ſo into Hampſhire, and thence to London.

29. The troubles in London growing great, I reſolved to leave the city and retire into the country: and this day I ſet forward from London towards Cheſhire, to my father-in-law's houſe of Smallwood.

November 1643. Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Recorder of Reading, was knighted. I married his widow in 1649.

April 17. I went towards London with my couſin Mainwaring of Caringſham.

25. I came to London.

May. 8. I came from London.

17 I arrived at Smallwood.

July 2. I went towards Long Witton in Northumberland.

12. I came firſt to Newcaſtle with the young Baron of Kinderton.

17. I returned into Cheſhire with the Baron of Kinderton's lady.

21. We came into Cheſhire.

The

The reſt of the ſummer I ſpent at Kinderton, in aſſiſting Mrs. Venables, to get off the Baron's ſequeſtration; but we could not prevail.

Octob. 16. I went a ſecond journey into the North.

21. I returned towards Cheſhire.

1645. The beginning of this year (as alſo part of the laſt) was ſpent at Oxford by Mr. Hill of Litchfield, and myſelf, in ſoliciting the Parliament there againſt Colonel Bagot, Governor of Litchfield, for oppoſing the execution of the King's Commiſſion of Excife (Mr. Hill and myſelf being Commiſſioners!) whereupon January 8. a letter was ſent to fetch the Colonel thither.

Feb. 31. Mr. Hill returned to Litchfield.

Mar. 22. I firſt became acquainted with Captain Wharton, between eight and nine in the morning.

Apr. 17. Captain Wharton moved me to be one of the four gentlemen of the Ordnance in the Garriſon of Oxford, 11 *ante merid.*

May 9. I was entered a gentleman of the Ordnance, 9 *ante merid.*

15. I was affronted by a ſoldier at my battery at Dover-Peer, but had ſatisfaction.

Sept. 1. I was very much troubled with my eye for a week.

14. I christened Mr. Fox's son at Oxford, 4 *post meridiem*.

16. Mrs. Henchman died, my schoolmaster's wife.

17. This afternoon Sir John Heydon, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, began to exercise my gunners in Magdalen Meadows.

Octob. 8. Mr. Wharton was made a Captain of Horse.

12. I saw Mrs. March in Brazen-Nose Library, being brought thither by Captain Swingfield, 2 *post merid.* This day Mr. Merick made a motion to me to be a Commissioner of the Excise at Worcester.

Dec. 8. I was recommended to be Commissioner for the Excise at Worcester, unknown to me; which when I knew, I accepted, and prepared for my journey thither.

16. The King caused Mr. ——— to be out of the Commission of Excise, and mine to be inserted in his place.

19. 2 *post merid.* Mr. Swingfield and myself received the Commission of Excise from the Clerk of the Crown.

21. Sir John Heydon gave me a letter of recommendation to my Lord Ashley at Worcester, of which this is a copy.

My LORD,

'THIS bearer, one of the gentlemen of the Ordnance to the garrison

'of

'of Oxford, having an employment in 'your Lordſhip's government, by the Par-'liament here put upon him, out of his 'deſire to be made known and ſerviceable 'to your Lordſhip, hath intreated my 'mediation and atteſtation, to whoſe 'perſon, induſtry, and merits, during 'the time he hath been intereſted in his 'Majeſty's ſervice, under my ſurvey, I can 'no leſs than recommend him to your 'Lordſhip's favour, as an able, diligent 'and faithful man, wherein your Lord-'ſhip may be pleaſed to believe

'Your Lordſhip's,

Dec. 21, 1645. 'Moſt affectionate ſervant,

'JOHN HEYDON.'

Dec. 22. I took my journey from Oxford to Worceſter, 10 *ant. merid.* with Sir Charles Lucas.

23. 8 *ant. merid.* I arrived at Worceſter.

27. 11 *Hor.* 15 min. *ant. meria.* Mr. Jordan Mayor of Worceſter, Mr. Swingfield, and myſelf, took the Oath as Commiſſioners of Exciſe in the Town-Hall, and thence went unto the office, and entered upon the execution of the commiſſion. The commiſſion bears teſte the 15th of December preceding.

1646.

1646. Jan. 1. 8 *Hor. ante merid.* I delivered Sir John Heydon's letter to my Lord Aſhley, who promiſed me all kindneſs, and to fix me in the Train of Artillery in the Garriſon.

3d. 3 *Hor. poſt merid.* Mr. Jordan, the Mayor of Worceſter, Mr. Francis Grave, Mr. John Swingfield, and myſelf, the three Commiſſioners of the Exciſe; being met at Worceſter, Mr. Gerard moved to have me Receiver and Regiſter, and Mr. Swingfield to be Comptroller; which was agreed unto.

Jan. 19. I firſt heard of my mother Mainwaring's death from Mrs. Mary Brereton, my Lord Brereton's daughter.

March 12. 1 *Hor. poſt merid.* I received my commiſſion for a Captainſhip in the Lord Aſhley's regiment.

Apr. 18. A new commiſſion for the Exciſe came to Worceſter.

21. Colonel Baldwin, Mr. Swingfield, and myſelf, took our oaths to the ſaid commiſſion, 11 *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.*

27. I was choſen Regiſter to the ſaid commiſſion, 1 *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.*

28. Mr. Yardley was ſworn one of our clerks, 3 hour *poſt merid.* upon my recommendation. This Mr. Yardley was one of the choir of Worceſter, after the ſurrender of the garriſon my ſervant ſome years,

years, and upon the King's return, made one of the gentlemen of his chapel.

May 19. 5 *Hor. poſt merid.* walking in the fields at Worceſter, where ſome were ſhooting at Rovers, an arrow ſtruck very near me, but I eſcaped hurt: thanks be to God.

22. 10 *ante merid.* Sir Ralph Clare moved me to take a command about the Ordnance in the fort of Worceſter.

June 12. I entered upon my command as Comptroller of the Ordnance.

18. 1 *Hor.* 10 minutes *poſt merid.* I received my commiſſion from Colonel Waſhington.

July 14. Lichfield-Cloſe was ſurrendered to the Parliament.

July 24. Worceſter was ſurrendered; and thence I rid out of town according to the articles, and went to my father Mainwaring in Cheſhire.

July 31. Mr. Richard Harriſon, miniſter of Tetnal formerly, and afterwards of Litchfield, told me of my mother's death, and that ſhe died about the 8th or 9th of July, of the plague not long before, that city being viſited this ſummer. She was a diſcreet, ſober, provident woman, and with great patience endured many afflictions. Her parents had given her exceeding good breeding, and ſhe was excellent at her needle; which (my father being

improvident) ſtood her in great ſtead. She was competently read in divinity, hiſtory, and poetry; and was continually inſtilling into my ears ſuch religious and moral precepts, as my younger years were capable of. Nor did ſhe ever fail to correct my faults, always adding ſharp reproofs and good lectures to boot. She was much eſteemed of by perſons of note with whom ſhe was acquainted. She lived in much friendſhip among her neighbours, and left a good name behind her. In fine, ſhe was truly religious and virtuous.

Octob. 16. 4 *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt meridiem*. I was made a Free-Maſon at Warrington in Lancaſhire, with Colonel Henry Mainwaring of Kartcham in Cheſhire: the names of thoſe that were then at the lodge, Mr. Richard Penket Warden, Mr. James Collier, Mr. Richard Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, and Hugh Brewer.

Oct. 25. I left Cheſhire, and came to London about the end of this month, *viz.* the 30th day, 4 *Hor. poſt meridiem*. About a fortnight or three weeks before I came to London, Mr. Jonas Moore brought and acquainted me with Mr. William Lilly: it was on a Friday night, and I think on the 20th of Nov.

Dec. 3. This day, at noon, I firſt became acquainted with Mr. John Booker.

22. I was invited by Mrs. March, to keep my Chriſtmas with her at Lime-houſe, which I did.

23. 4 *Hor.* 30 minutes I went thither.

1647. Feb. 10. A boil broke out of my throat, under my right ear.

14. The mathematical feaſt was at the White-Hart in the Old-Bailey, where I dined.

Mar. 1. I firſt moved the Lady Main-waring, in way of marriage, and received a fair anſwer, though no condeſcenſion.

Apr. 14. I went to Sir Arthur Main-waring's, with the Lady Mainwaring.

May 25. I went towards Bradfield.

27. 8 *Hor. ante merid.* Mr. Humphry Strafford and I went into Bradfield Houſe.

Jun. 12. I went from St. James's to Engle-field, to table with Antipaſs Cher-vington; and the next morning about eight of the clock I came to his houſe.

14. I firſt became acquainted with Dr. Wimberley, miniſter of Engle-field, 3 *Hor. poſt merid.*

16. 1 *Hor. poſt merid.* it pleaſed God to put me in mind, that I was now placed in the condition I always deſired, which was, that I might be enabled to live to myſelf and ſtudies; without being forced to take pains for a livelihood in the world. And ſeeing I am thus retired, according to my heart's deſire, I beſeech God to bleſs

bleſs me in my retirement, and to proſper my ſtudies, that I may faithfully and diligently ſerve him, and in all things ſubmit to his will: and for the peace and happineſs I enjoy (in the midſt of bad times) to render him all humble thanks, and for what I attain to in the courſe of my ſtudies, to give him the glory.

June 25. Eleven *Hor. ante merid.* the Lady Mainwaring gave me a ring enameled with black, whereon was this poſy: 'A 'true Friend's Gift.'

28. 7 *Hor.* 15 minutes *poſt merid.* I fell ill, and 10 *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* took my bed. I was pained in my head, reins, thighs; and taking a carduus poſſet at night, and ſweating upon it, I mended.

July 1. This day I was much pained in my head and eyes.

12. I went towards London.

23. The Lady Mainwaring entered upon her jointure-lands.

26. Ten *Hor. ante merid.* I began to be ſick, and 5 *Hor.* 15 minutes *poſt merid.* I took my bed: the diſeaſe happened to be a violent fever.

30. About 2 *Hor. poſt merid.* (as I was afterwards told) Mr. Humphry Stafford, the Lady Mainwaring's ſecond ſon (ſuſpecting I ſhould marry his mother) broke into my chamber, and had like to have killed me, but Chriſtopher Smith with-

held him by force; for which all perſons exceedingly blamed him, in regard it was thought I was near death, and knew nobody. God be bleſſed for this deliverance.

Aug. 1. I was in the extremity of my fever, ſenſeleſs and raging.

14. Being ſomewhat mended of my fever, I this day got up. About this time the Lady Mainwaring fell into a fever, and Captain Wharton had the plague.

25. Was the firſt day I went down ſtairs.

31. I was very faint and ill again.

Septemb. 2. I fell ill again, and became light in my head.

9. I took a purge, which wrought very well, and mended.

28. I went to viſit the Lady Mainwaring.

Octob. 26. I fell ſick of a quartan ague, at Mr. Stafford's, having been invited there to dinner.

Novem. 11. I went towards London, and came thither the next day by noon.

25. My ague left me.

30. The Lady Mainwaring came to live at her houſe at Bradfield.

Dec. 16. Being much troubled with phlegm, I took an opening drink from Dr. Wharton.

1648.

1648. January 14. I went towards Bradfield from London.

Feb. 25. I was very ill as I went to Theale.

28. Very ſick in the afternoon.

March 2. Being at Pangborne, I was very ill there.

12. Captain Wharton taken in his bed 3 *Hor. ante merid.* he was carried to Newgate, 6 *Hor. poſt merid.*

May 11. I entertained John Fox into my ſervice.

22. The Lady Mainwaring ſealed me a leaſe of the parks at Bradfield, worth ——*per ann.*

June 6. Having entered upon the ſtudy of plants, this day, about three of the clock, was the firſt time I went a ſimpling. Dr. Carter of Reading, and Mr. Watlington an apothecary there, accompanying me.

29. The Lady Mainwaring ſealed me a leaſe of the field mead, worth fifty pounds *per annum.*

Auguſt 26. Captain Wharton made an eſcape out of Newgate.

29. I began my journey towards Briſtol, with Mr. Hutchinſon.

31. We came to Briſtol.

Sept. 6. We returned to Bradfield.

October 23. Going towards London, I was robbed in Maidenhead Thicket, 5 *Hor. poſt merid.*

Nov. 6. Having ſeveral times before made application to the Lady Mainwaring, in way of marriage; this day, 11 *Hor.* 7 minutes *ante merid.* ſhe promiſed me not to marry any man, unleſs myſelf.

10. Two *Hor.* 15 minutes *poſt merid.* ſhe ſealed a contract of marriage to me.

15. I was ſequeſtered of my lands in Berkſhire.

21. The ſequeſtration was taken off at Reading.

Decemb. 5, 1649. The Lady Mainwaring was ſequeſtered by the committee of Reading, upon her ſon Humfrey Stafford's information.

Feb. 14. An order for receiving the Lady Mainwaring's rents.

April 7. Eleven *Hor.* 30 minutes *ant. merid.* I came to Mr. Watlington's houſe to table, who was an apothecary in Reading, and a very good botaniſt.

25. My journey to the phyſick garden in Oxford.

May 8. I was godfather to Elias Yardly at Reading.

June 3. This afternoon I kiſſed the Duke of Glouceſter and Elizabeth's hands, at Sion Houſe.

Aug. 1. The aſtrologers feaſt at Painters-Hall, where I dined.

Octob. 16. I accompanied the Lady Mainwaring to London.

31. The

31. The aſtrologers feaſt.

Nov. 16. Eight *Hor. ante merid.* I married the Lady Mainwaring. We were married in Silver-Street, London.

20. I was arreſted by Mr. Ives for my brother Mainwaring's debt.

21. Captain Wharton was re-taken and carried to priſon.

Decem. 19. I agreed with Mr. Myne, for printing my Faſciculus Chemicus.

21. I firſt began to learn to diſſect a body.

1650. Feb. 18. I met Mr. Ives, and we came to an agreement.

June 3. Mr. Lilly and myſelf, went to viſit Dr. Ardee, at his houſe in the Minories.

15. Myſelf, my wife, and Dr. Wharton, went to viſit Mr. John Tredeſcant, at South-Lambeth.

21. I and my wife went towards Bradfield.

22. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* we arrived there.

24. Mr. William Forſter and his Lady came to viſit us.

25. I and Captain Wharton went to viſit him at Ruſhall.

26. Nine *Hor.* 42 minutes *poſt merid.* we arrived at London.

July 2. Six *Hor. poſt merid.* I was ſerved with a *ſubpœna* at Sir Humfrey Forſter's ſuit.

29. Much troubled with the toothach on my right ſide.

Aug. 8. I being at the aſtrologers feaſt, two *Hor. poſt merid.* I was choſen ſteward for the following year.

Captain Wharton having been carried to the Gate-Houſe the 21ſt of November laſt, the next day after, I went to Mr. Lilly, and acquainted him therewith, who profeſſed himſelf very ſorry, becauſe he knew Bradſhaw intended to hang him; and moſt generouſly (forgetting the quarrels that had been between the Captain and him) promiſed me to uſe his intereſt with Mr. Bulſtrode Whitlock (his patron) to obtain his releaſe. I thought it was prudent to have my name then (as the times ſtood) not to appear in print as the inſtrument that wrought Mr. Lilly to do this kindneſs for him; and therefore in Captain Wharton's Epiſtle to the reader before his Almanack, in 1651, wherein his publick acknowledgments are made of Mr. Lilly's aſſiſtance in this ſtrait, all acknowledgments to me are omitted; tho' in truth, I was the only perſon that moved and induced, and conſtantly ſolicited Mr. Lilly to perfect his enlargement: having at all times, ſince my return to London, *anno* 1646, befriended Captain Wharton, not only in diſcovering all deſigns that I heard were laid againſt him,

hhim, either at Mr. Lilly's or elſewhere, but alſo affording him my purſe freely and liberally, towards his ſupport in many neceſſitous occaſions. Upon Mr. Lilly's application to Mr. Whitlock, he adviſed, that the Captain ſhould lie quiet, without making the leaſt complaint: and after Chriſtmas, when his being a priſoner was almoſt forgotten, Bradſhaw out of the way, and Mr. Whitlock Chairman to the council of ſtate; Mr. Lilly having alſo by this time, made ſome other of the ſaid council the Captain's friends (upon his petition) he was diſcharged; no other engagement being taken from him, but that he would not thenceforward write againſt the Parliament or State. Hereupon he became utterly void of all ſubſiſtence (which whilſt he was under troubles, ſome or other contributed unto, beſides what he got by writing againſt thoſe times) and thereupon, conſulting with me, about a new courſe of life, and how he might ſubſiſt, I frankly offered him my houſe at Bradfield in Berks, for him, his wife and family, to live at, with ſome other advantages there; which he moſt gladly and thankfully accepting, he went thither, and paſt his time with quiet and comfort for the moſt part, till his Majeſty was reſtored to the Crown: and hereupon he ſtiled me in his Alma-

nack for the year 1653, his 'Oaken 'Friend.'

Aug. 13. I bought of Mr. Milbourn all his books and mathematical inſtruments.

14. Eight *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* I bought Mr. Hawkins's books.

October 18. I put in a plea and demur to Sir Humphrey Forſter's bill.

Nov. 1. My couſin Bridget Smart (only daughter to my uncle Anthony Bowyer) was buried.

12. I agreed with Mr. Lyſter for his houſe in Black Friars, where I afterwards dwelt.

23. Two *Hor. poſt merid.* he ſealed me a leaſe of the ſaid houſe at forty-four pounds *per ann.*

26. *Poſt merid.* I came thither to dwell.

1651. Jan. 1. I fell into a great looſeneſs, which turned into a fever, but mended next day.

7. Captain Wharton returned from Bradfield, whether I ſent him to receive my rents.

16. Four *Hor. poſt merid.* my demurrer againſt Sir Humfrey Forſter's bill was argued, and held good.

22. About this time my left ſide of my neck began to break forth, occaſioned by ſhaving my beard with a bad razor.

22. About this time I grew melancholly and dull, and heavy in my limbs and back.

About this time I began to learn ſealgraving, caſting in ſand, and goldſmiths work.

Feb. 1. Three *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* I agreed with Mrs. Backhouſe of London, for her deceaſed huſband's books.

March 7. I went to Maidſtone with Dr. Child the phyſician. And 3 *Hor. poſt merid.* I firſt became acquainted with Dr. Flood.

18. This night my maid's bed was on fire; but I roſe quickly (and thanks to God) quenched it.

April 3. *Poſt merid.* Mr. William Backhouſe of Swallowfield in *com.* Berks, cauſed me to call him father thenceforward.

26. Five *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* my father Backhouſe brought me acquainted with the Lord Ruthin, who was a moſt ingenious perſon.

June 10. Mr. Backhouſe told me I muſt now needs be his ſon, becauſe he had communicated ſo many ſecrets to me.

July 21. I gave Mr. Griſmond my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* to print.

Auguſt 11. Captain Wharton went to receive my rents at Bradfield.

Aug. 14.

Auguſt 14. The Aſtrologers feaſt at Painters Hall, London.

This night about one of the clock, I fell ill of a ſurfeit, occaſioned by drinking water after veniſon. I was greatly oppreſſed in my ſtomach; and next day Mr. Saunders the Aſtrologian ſent me a piece of Briony root to hold in my hand; and within a quarter of an hour, my ſtomach was freed of that great oppreſſion, which nothing which I took from Dr. Wharton could do before.

About this time my brother Peter Mainwaring's wife died.

September 11. Captain Wharton went to receive my rents.

22. Mr. Vaughan began to engrave the pictures in Norton's Ordinal. He wrought and finiſhed all the cuts for my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, at my houſe in Black-Friars.

30. Captain Wharton arreſted: I and Mr. Griſmond, bail.

October 9. My father Backhouſe and I went to ſee Mr. Goodier, the great botaniſt, at Petersfield.

20. Mr. Lilly gave me ſeveral old aſtrological manuſcripts.

November 10. About four *poſt merid.* my wife's eldeſt ſon, Mr. Edward Stafford, died.

11. Ten *poſt merid.* he was buried in Bradfield church.

12. Sir John Backhouſe of Swallowfield's widow died.

December 7. Two *hor. poſt merid.* Dr. Paget lent me ſeveral Chymical manuſcripts: and here began my acquaintance with him.

19. I ſent Captain Wharton to receive my rents at Bradfield.

1652. January 21. The gum at the back end of the right ſide of my upper jaw cleft; and about nine *hor. poſt merid.* I felt a new tooth coming up.

26. Six *hor. poſt merid.* the firſt copy of my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* was ſold to the Earl of Pembroke.

29. Ten *hor. ante merid.* Mr. Lilly gave me his picture in oil colours, of which there never had been copy taken.

February 11. Two *hor.* forty-five minutes *poſt merid.* the ſtatute of 3000*l.* and Mr. Stafford's counterpart of his leaſe of my wife's jointure was delivered to me, by direction of Sir Arthur Mainwaring's lady, who had been truſted with it.

About this time I began to learn Hebrew of Rabbi Solomon Frank.

March 1. I fell ſick of the headach and a cold, which continued five weeks.

8. Six *hor.* fifteen minutes *ante merid.* Dr. Wharton let me blood.

10. This morning my father Backhouſe opened himſelf very freely, touching the great ſecret.

April 9. I paid my man John Fox his wages, and diſcharged him of my ſervice.

12. This morning I received more ſatisfaction from my father Backhouſe, to the queſtions I propoſed.

I ſent Captain Wharton to Bradfield to receive my rents.

27. I went to the ſeſſions at Newbury, where Colonel Evelin, governor of Wallingford (being ſet on by Sir Humfrey Forſter) was exceeding bitter againſt me, to the wonder of the whole court.

May 28. The inquiſition upon my ſtatute of 3000*l.* was found at Maidenhead.

I and my wife tabled this ſummer at Mr. Tradeſcant's.

June 14. 11 *Hor. ante merid.* Dr. Wilkins and Mr. Wren came to viſit me at Black Friars: this was the firſt time I ſaw the doctor.

23. Captain Wharton was ſent to receive my rents; and July 16, brought his wife and family to Bradfield.

Auguſt 2. I went to Maidſtone aſſizes to hear the witches tried, and took Mr. Tredeſcant with me.

16. I went towards Cheſhire.

26. Dr. Wharton fell ſick of a violent and dangerous fever about noon.

28.

28. I arrived at Gawſworth, where my father-in-law, Mr. Mainwaring then lived.

September 11. Young John Tredeſcant died.

15. He was buried in Lambeth Church-yard by his grandfather.

23. I took a journey into the Peak, in ſearch of plants, and other curioſities.

27. I came to Mr. John Tompſon's, who dwelt near Dove Bridge; he uſed a call, and had reſponſes in a ſoft voice. He told me Dr. Wharton was recovering from his ſickneſs, and ſo it proved.

October 2. I came to Litchfield.

3. Mr. Anthony Diot moved me to refer controverſy between me and my uncle Thomas Aſhmole.

13. My ſaid uncle quitted his title to me, which pretended to my houſe in Litchfield, and ſealed to me a deed of bargain and ſale.

14. He alſo ſealed me a releaſe, and gave me poſſeſſion.

November 2. Four *hor. poſt merid.* I returned to London, and in an hour after to my houſe.

3. Mr. Lilly called before the committee of plundered miniſters, and committed.

20. My wife went again to Mr. Tredeſcant's, to ſtay ſome time there.

21.

21. I diſcharged my man Hobs of my ſervice.

December 14. I was ſerved with a *ſubpœna* at Sir Humphry Foſter's ſuit, three *hor.* forty minutes *poſt merid.*

15. His bill was filed.

18. My ſiſter Mrs. Dorothy Mainwaring came to live with my wife eleven *hor. ante merid.*

She ſtayed with her but till the 16th of January following.

January 13, 1653. I held a court at Bradfield, as lord of that manor.

Mr. Anthony Brook of Sunning was my ſteward. Sir Humphrey Forſter coming thither, I arreſted him.

17. My wife left Mr. Tredeſcant's, and came to Mr. Flint's.

March 18. The Aſtrologers feaſt was held.

April 8. Dr. Langbaine, provoſt of Queen's College, ſhewed me Mr. Selden's letter to him, wherein he ſaid, he ſhould be glad to be acquainted with me; for he found by what I had publiſhed, that I was affected to the furtherance of all good learning.

20. This morning I firſt became acquainted with Ariſe Evans, a Welch prophet; and ſpeaking of the Parliament, I aſked him when it would end? He anſwered, the time was ſhort, and it was even

even at the door. This very morning at eleven of the clock, the mace was taken away from the Speaker, and the Parliament diſſolved; and I conjecture it was much about the time that Ariſe Evans and I had this diſcourſe.

May 12. Three *hor. poſt merid.* My couſin William Aſhmole came to London. He went to Mr. Sidley upon trial.

13. My father Backhouſe lying ſick in Fleet-ſtreet, over againſt St. Dunſtan's church; and not knowing whether he ſhould live or die, about eleven of the clock, told me, in ſyllables, the true matter of the Philoſophers Stone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy.

June 21. I agreed with Dr. Bathurſt for the remaining years, in my houſe at Black-Friars.

July 25. Nine *hor.* thirty minutes, I was firſt acquainted with Mr. Selden; who uſed me very courteouſly, and encouraged me in my ſtudies.

Auguſt 8. Eight *hor.* thirty minutes *ante merid.* I began my voyage with Dr. Carver into Cornwall, he going thither to open a mine for the Lord Mohun.

17. Nine *hor. poſt merid.* we came to Brecknock.

September 12. Nine *hor.* fifteen minutes *poſt merid.* we returned to London.

October

October 1. Seven *hor. poſt merid.* I firſt became acquainted with Mr. Ogilby.

4. I was troubled with the toothach: Major Ruſwell, (Dr. Bathurſt's apothecary) ſtopped it.

16. Sir John Heydon, lieutenant of the ordnance to King Charles the 1ſt, and my worthy friend died.

November 18. My aunt Bowyer, wife to my uncle Anthony Bowyer, was buried.

20. I was again troubled with the toothach for three days.

23. My good friend and neighbour Dr. Wimberley, miniſter of Englefield in Berkſhire, died.

25. He was buried at St. Margaret's in Weſtminſter, where formerly he had been parſon.

This day I bound my couſin William Aſhmole an apprentice to Mr. Clothier, a ſadler.

1654. January 21. Doctor Wharton began his lecture at the Phyſician's College 10 *hor. ante merid.*

February 6. The hearing in Chancery came on, wherein Sir Humphrey Forſter was plaintiff againſt me. As ſoon as my anſwer was opened, it was referred to Mr. Chaloner Chute my counſel to determine.

March 11. 4 *Hor. poſt merid.* Mr. Chute ſigned his award.

16.

16. In purſuance whereof I received from Sir Humphrey Forſter 350*l.* 11 *hor. ante merid.*

February 2. I acquainted Doctor Wharton with my ſecret for the cure of the *iliacâ paſſio*; and he applied it this morning to Mr. Faithorne the graver, and it cured him.

July 3. My wife went to lodge at Mr. Wit's.

17. I came to Litchfield.

22. I returned thence.

Auguſt 22. Aſtrologers feaſt.

24. I made a journey to Canterbury, Dover, &c.

September 1. I returned to London.

15. I went to viſit Mr. Oughtred, the famous mathematician.

28. I received 300*l.* from Sir Humphrey Forſter.

Oct. 7. Mr. William Floyd's firſt wife (was) buried at Swallowfield in Berkſhire.

November 24. 6 *Hor. poſt Merid.* my good father-in-law Mr. Peter Mainwaring died at Gawſworth.

December 8. Doctor Pordage was put out of Bradfield living. By his removal it fell to me to preſent, and knowing the worth and learning of Mr. Floyd (then living with my father Backhouſe, as tutor to his children) I reſolved to beſtow it upon him; and thereupon ſent for him up

to London, and on the 18th acquainted him with my intention.

30. I ſigned a preſentation to him. He was examined by the Tryers, and paſſed with approbation: But deſigns being laid againſt him by Mr. Fowler and Mr. Ford, both miniſters of Reading, who endeavoured to bring in Doctor Temple, ſuppoſing Sir Humphrey Forſter had right of preſentation, he thought better to reſign his preſentation to me, than to undergo a conteſt with thoſe men.

1655. March 30. Hereupon I preſented one Mr. Adams, who, having a living of 140*l.* *per ann.* and finding he muſt undergo a conteſt with thoſe that oppoſed, Mr. Floyd thought fitter to keep his own living, than part with it in hopes of a far better.

November 28. The peace between England and France was proclaimed at Weſtminſter 10 *hor.* 45 minutes *ante merid.*

1656. And at 11 *hor.* 45 minutes it was proclaimed at White-Hall.

April 17. Archbiſhop of Armagh (was) buried.

May 23. Firſt ſhow at Sir William Davenant's opera.

June 26. I fell ſick, and had a great looſeneſs.

July. In this month I was troubled with a great pain in my right breaſt.

12. I paid Mr. Faithorne 7*l.* for engraving my picture.

Auguſt 1. Journey to Mr. Sterill's in Eſſex.

7. Colonel Wharton came home upon his parole.

29. I ſigned and ſealed my preſentation for Bradfield living to Mr. Lancelot Smith 6 *hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* and delivered it to the committee.

This man, after ſome conteſt, enjoyed the living; and the right of preſentation being acknowledged to be mine, I had no farther trouble.

This day the Aſtrologers feaſt was held

September 4. Couſin —— Thompſon (was) chriſtened.

11. I went towards Litchfield.

13. About 9 *hor. ante merid.* I came firſt to Mr. Dugdale's at Blyth-Hall.

October 9. I returned to London.

December 19. I went towards Blyth-Hall.

1657. January 14. 10 *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.* I returned to London.

February 22. My couſin Everard Mainwaring died. March. 27. I went towards Blyth-Hall.

April 20. 5 *Hor. poſt merid.* I bruiſed my great toe with the fall of a great form.

May 2. 7 *Hor. ante merid.* I returned to London.

19. I accompanied Mr. Dugdale in his journey towards the Fens 4 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.*

June 3. 9 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* we came to York.

July 7. 6 *Hor.* 45 minutes *ante merid.* I returned to London.

September 22. I fell ill of the tooth-ach, which continued three days.

October 8. The cauſe between me and my wife was heard, where Mr. Serjeant Maynard obſerved to the court that there were 800 ſheets of depoſitions on my wife's part, and not one word proved againſt me of uſing her ill, nor ever giving her a bad or provoking word.

9. The Lords Commiſſioners having found no cauſe for allowing my wife alimony, did, 4. *hor. poſt merid.* deliver my wife to me; whereupon I carried her to Mr. Lilly's, and there took lodgings for us both.

November 11. 2 *Hor.* 15 minutes *poſt merid.* I was admitted of the Middle Temple.

December 1. About 10 *hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* it thundered and lightened, and at this time was the writ ſealed for ſummons to the new Lords of the Parliament.

22. I and my wife came towards Albury.

28. I went to London;

29. And thence towards Blyth-Hall.

1658. January 15. I came to Bradfield.

19. I returned to Albury.

March 30. I dined with the Florida Embaſſador at Mr. Martin Noell's.

May 7. I firſt went to the Record-Office in the Tower, to collect materials for my work of the Garter.

9. I was ſtruck by a coach-horſe, on the inſide of my left thigh.

June 12. I firſt became acquainted with Sir Roger Twiſden.

July 27. 4 *Hor. poſt merid.* I went towards Warwickſhire and Staffordſhire. In this journey I viſited Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Harvey Bagot, Sir Richard Lewſon, and the Earl of Denbigh.

Auguſt 21. I returned to London.

November 13. I was enterred into Mr. Henſhaw's chamber in the Middle Temple, which I bought of him for 130*l*, being admitted to it this day 7 *hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.*

17. 11 *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* I brought my goods thither, and 2 *hor. poſt merid.* came the reſt.

1659. May 24. I became acquainted with Mr. Scipio Squire.

25. I went to Windſor, and took Mr. Hollar with me to take views of the caſtle.

July 2. Was the Antiquaries feaſt.

Auguſt 16. I came to Roe-Barnes, to table there.

21. My Study was broken up by the ſoldiers, upon pretence of ſearching for the King, but I loſt nothing out of it.

October 2. Mr. John Watlington, an apothecary of Reading, and an able botaniſt (my very good friend) was buried.

5. Mr. Lilly received a gold chain from the King of Sweden.

November 2. Was the Aſtrologers feaſt.

December 12. Mr. Tredeſcant and his wife told me they had been long conſidering upon whom to beſtow their cloſet of curioſities when they died, and at laſt had reſolved to give it unto me.

14. This afternoon they gave their ſcrivener inſtructions to draw a deed of gift of the ſaid cloſet to me.

16. 5 *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* Mr. Tredeſcant and his wife ſealed and delivered to me the deed of gift of all his rarities.

1660, January 3. My uncle Anthony Bowyer died.

March 2. I went into Warwickſhire.

April 11. I returned to London.

June

June 6. 4 *Hor.* 15 minutes *poſt merid.* I firſt became acquainted with Sir Edmund Walker Garter.

16. 4 *Hor. poſt merid.* I firſt kiſſed the King's hand, being introduced by Mr. Thomas Chiffinch.

18. 10 *Hor. ante merid.* was the ſecond time I had the honour to diſcourſe with the King, and then he gave me the place of Windſor Herald.

22. This day the warrant bears date.

About this time the King appointed me to make a deſcription of his medals, and I had them delivered into my hands, and Henry the VIIIth's cloſet aſſigned for my uſe.

July 19. This morning Mr. Secretary Morris told me the King had a great kindneſs for me.

Auguſt 6. Mr. Ayton, the King's chief gentleman-uſher came to me into the cloſet, and told me, the King had commanded that I ſhould have my diet at the waiters table, which I accordingly had.

10. The Officers at Arms took the oaths, and myſelf among them, as Windſor Herald.

14. This afternoon was the firſt publick meeting of the Officers at Arms in the Herald's Office.

21. I preſented the King with the three books I had printed, *viz. Faſciculus Chemicus*, *Theatrum Chemicum*, and The Way to Bliſs.

September 3. My warrant ſigned for the Comptroller's Office in the Exciſe.

17. I delivered my ſaid warrant for the Exciſe to the Commiſſioners of Appeals.

October 24. 5 *Hor. poſt merid.* I came to the Exciſe Office, and took poſſeſſion of the Comptroller's Office.

November 2. I was this night called to the bar in the Middle Temple Hall.

7. I had my admittance to the bar in the ſaid hall.

December 28. I took my oath, as Comptroller of the Exciſe before Baron Turner.

1661. January 15. I was admitted a member of the Royal Society at Greſham College.

February 9. A warrant was ſigned by the King for my being Secretary of Surinam in the Weſt Indies.

April 3. My patent for Comptrollerſhip of the Exciſe bears teſte.

13. The King gave my Lord Chamberlain order, to ſettle me as the firſt Herald, in caſe any diſpute ſhould happen.

May 16. The grant of Arms to me from Sir Edward Byſh Clarencieux bears date.

June

June 28. John Walſh was ſworn my deputy.

November 6. Mr. Thomas Chiffinch dined at my chamber in the Middle Temple.

July 12. I chriſtened Mr. Buttler the goldſmith's ſon, William.

1662. January 26. I paid in 50*l.* the half of my Royal Preſent to the King.

March 5. I ſent a ſet of Services and Anthems to Litchfield cathedral, which coſt me 16*l.*

April 22. Mr. John Tredeſcant died.

May 29. I was made one of the Commiſſioners for recovering the King's goods.

May 30. My Father Backhouſe died this evening at Swallowfield.

This Eaſter Term I preferred a bill in Chancery againſt Mrs. Tredeſcant, for the rarities her huſband had ſettled on me.

June 17. About 3 *Hor. poſt merid.* the Commiſſioners for the office of Earl Marſhal firſt ſat in Whitehall.

This afternoon my father Backhouſe was buried in Swallowfield church.

29. 11 *Hor.* 36 minutes *ante merid.* I firſt kiſſed the Queen's hand.

Auguſt. I accompanied Mr. Dugdale in his viſitation of Derby and Nottinghamſhires.

9. I bought Mr. Tumepemine's intereſt in the leaſe of Homerich lands.

Sep-

September, I paid the other half of my Royal preſent to the King, *viz.* 50*l.*

December 5. I chriſtened Captain Wharton's daughter, Anne.

1663. March. I accompanied Mr. Dugdale in his viſitation of Staffordſhire and Derbyſhire.

May. Towards the end of this month I chriſtened Mr. Timothy Eman's ſon of Windſor.

27. I fell ill of a feveriſh diſtemper.

July 6. I went towards Oxford, attending the body of Archbiſhop Juxon.

Auguſt 3. 9 *Hor. ante merid.* I began my journey to accompany Mr. Dugdale in his viſitations of Shropſhire and Cheſhire.

October 10. I returned to London.

November 21. Mr. Povey brought the Earl of Peterborough to my chamber.

1664. January 19. Mr. Thomas firſt promiſed me a place in the White Office.

February 5. The Benchers of the Middle Temple granted me an aſſignment of my chamber in the Middle Temple.

8. My picture was drawn by Mr. Le Neve in my Herald's coat.

12. Mr. Dugdale fell ſick of a fever.

13. I gave 20*l.* towards the repair of Litchfield minſter.

March 17. I chriſtened Secundus ſon to Mr. Lacy the Comedian.

May

May 18. My cauſe came to hearing in Chancery againſt Mrs. Tredeſcant.

June 17. I gave five volumes of Mr. Dugdale's Works to the Temple Library, and had this acknowledgment.

Parliamentum tentum 17th die Junii, 1664.

'Ordered that Mr. Aſhmole of the ut-'ter bar have their Maſterſhips thanks for 'the books now preſented by him to their 'Maſterſhips for the library.'

27. The White Office was opened, wherein I was Comptroller.

July 16. I having bought the third part of my chamber upon the death of Mr. Perrot, the bench this day gave me an aſſignment of it.

Auguſt 9. Grand day at the reading in the Middle Temple, whereat I was one of the Stewards.

1665, February 8. About 8 *Hor. ante merid.* Mr. Thomas gave a warrant of attorney to confeſs a judgment to me of 1200*l.*

17. Sir Edward Biſh ſealed his deputation of me for viſiting Berkſhire.

May 11. I began to make my viſitation of Berkſhire at Reading.

Auguſt 26. I went towards Blyth Hall.

This

This year about 15 of July (the plague encreasing) I retired to Roe Barnes, and the following winter composed a good part of my work of the Garter there.

1666. January 17. I bestowed on the Bailiffs of Litchfield a large chased silver bowl and cover, which cost me 23l. 8s. 6d.

June. I presented the publick library at Oxford with three folio volumes, containing a description of the Consular and Imperial Coins there, which I had formerly made and digested, being all fairly transcribed with my own hand. In acknowledgment of which the following was entred in the register of benefactors:

Elias Ashmole *armiger, & Regius Fecialis de Windesore, vir præstantissimus & rei antiquariæ peritissimus, accuratissimum antiquorum Numismatum Laudentium Catalogum in tria volumina distributum concinnavit, & Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ dono dedit.*

August. This month I went to Blyth Hall, and returned the same month.

September 2. The dreadful fire of London began.

October 4. 1 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* some of my books, carried to my cousin Moyse's, were returned to my chamber at the Temple.

11. 1 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* my firſt boatful of books, which were carried to Mrs. Tredeſcant's the 3d of September, were brought back to the Temple.

18. 4 *Poſt merid.* all the reſt of my things were brought thence to the Temple.

1667. May 21. I bought Mr. John Booker's ſtudy of books, and gave 140*l.* for them.

July 16. I went to Warwickſhire.

24. I returned to London.

31. I went again towards Warwickſhire.

Auguſt 21. I returned to Roe Barnes.

November 25. I took a leaſe of the Moggs in Litchfield from the Bailiffs, and this day paid 20*l.* part of 40*l.* fine.

1668. January 11. I paid to Mr. Rowlins 20l. the remaining part of my fine for the Moggs at Litchfield.

April 1. 2 *Hor. ante merid.* the Lady Mainwaring, my wife, died.

25. Mr. Joſeph Williamſon and Dr. Thomas Smith (afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle) dined with me at my chamber in the Temple.

June 9. 5 *Hor. poſt merid.* the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury appointed me to execute the Office of Accomptant General in the Exciſe and Country Accomptant.

15. 5 *Hor. poſt merid.* they appointed me to execute the place of Country Accomptant in the Exciſe.

Auguſt 10. I went towards Blyth Hall.

26. I returned to London.

September 4. 7 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I concluded with Mr. Laurence for his houſe in Shire Lane. At 7 *hor. poſt merid.* he ſealed his aſſignment to me.

16. Doctor Currer, the Chymical Phyſician, my moſt entire friend, died.

October 1. He was buried at St. Clement Danes; and Dr. William Floyd preached his funeral ſermon November 1.

November 3. I married Mrs. Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to William Dugdale, Eſq. Norroy King of Arms, at Lincoln's Inn Chapel. Dr. William Floyd married us, and her father gave her. The wedding was finiſhed at 10 *hor. poſt merid.*

December 3. Doctor William Floyd married.

29. Juſtinian Pagitt, Eſq. died.

1669. January 2. Mr. Juſtinian Pagitt was buried at St. Giles's in the fields.

April 15. Mr. Roſe, the King's Gardener, and myſelf, went to Mrs. Tredeſcant's, and thence to Captain Forſter's at South Lambeth, where I firſt was acquainted with him.

17. Mr. Oldenburgh (Secretary to the Royal Society) ſent me a letter, that Count Maga-

Magalotti would viſit me at my chamber, from the Prince of Tuſcany.

19. Count Magalotti and two other gentlemen of the Prince of Tuſcany's chief attendants, came to my chamber to ſee my library and coins.

27. I felt the firſt touch of the gout, in my great toe, on my left foot, and in my left fore-finger.

June 5. I and my wife went to Herſham to viſit Mr. Lilly.

14. We returned to London.

July 6. I went towards Oxford.

9. The poſſeſſion of the Theatre (built by Dr. Shelden Archbiſhop of Canterbury) was taken by the Vice Chancellor.

I received the honour of being made a Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford.

Auguſt 11. I and my wife went again to Mr. Lilly's.

22. Sir William Backhouſe of Swallowfield died.

September 3. I returned to London from Mr. Lilly's.

Mrs. Dorcas Pagitt, wife to Juſtinian Pagitt, Eſq. was buried.

21. I went towards Swallowfield to ſerve at the funeral of Sir William Backhouſe.

28. He was buried at Swallowfield.

29. I let a leaſe of Homerich lands to H. Aldrich for ſeven years.

No-

Novemb. 3. This evening Dr. Yates, Principal of Brazen-Noſe College, preſented me with a diploma from the univerſity of Oxford, for my degree of Doctor of Phyſick, between ſix and ſeven at night.

About the middle of December, my friendſhip began to be renewed with Dr. Wharton, which had been diſcontinued for many years, by reaſon of his unhandſome and unfriendly dealing with me.

1670. March 14. I beſtowed a graveſtone on Mr. Booker formerly, and this day paid for it: it had this inſcription in capital letters.

Ne oblivione contereretur urna
Johannis Bookeri *Aſtrologi*
qui fati ceſſit
VI*to Idus* Aprilis, *Anno Chriſti Juliano*
MDCLXVII.
Hoc illi poſuit amoris monumentum.
Elias Aſhmole
Armiger.

16. I was entertained by Monſieur Lionberg, the Swediſh Envoy.

31. I obtained the King's warrant to my book of the Garter.

May 5. The Earl of Angleſea viſited me at my chamber in the Temple.

10. I dined at Sir Charles Cotterel's with the Daniſh Envoy, and after dinner they went to my chamber in the Temple; where I ſo ſatisfied the Envoy touching the King of Sweden's precedence in the Order before his maſter's, that he thereupon waved the further proſecution of that affair.

June 22. Captain Burgh, my old acquaintance, died.

July 5. The Lord Hatton, my much honoured friend, died this morning.

I fell ill of a ſurfeit; but thanks be to God, I recovered the next day.

9. I dined with the Swediſh Envoy.

27. Sir Gilbert Talbot, Maſter of the Jewel Houſe, and Mr. Joſeph Williamſon, dined at my chamber in the Temple.

Auguſt 19. Six *Hor. poſt merid.* my couſin Moyſe of Tottenham, died.

24. Myſelf and wife went to Captain Wharton's, at Greenwich.

Sept. 25. Eleven *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I became acquainted with the Count de Monroux, Envoy from the Duke of Savoy.

Octob. 8. I moved my Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury for a licence for Mr. Lilly, to practiſe phyſick; which he granted.

Nov. 18. I fell ill of the gout, in my great toe on the right foot.

20. I bled with leeches, and was well the next morning.

1671. Jan. 9. My ſiſter Dugdale died.

13. I became acquainted with Mr. Peter Arnold the Chymiſt.

April 4. My brother Dugdale married to Mrs. Pigeon.

May 16. I let a leaſe of my houſe in Litchfield, to Mr. Edmund Falkingham, for 7 years.

July 20. I went towards Blyth-Hall with my wife.

31. I came to Litchfield.

Aug. 10. I and my wife went to Litchfield, where we were entertained by the Bailiffs at a dinner, and a great banquet.

15. We went to the Earl of Denbigh at Newnham.

18. Four *Hor. poſt merid.* I arrived at London.

Sept. 21. I went again towards Blyth-Hall.

Octob. 5. I came to Litchfield, where I met my brother Mainwaring.

16. I and my wife returned to London.

19. My brother Mainwaring came to London.

Decemb. 7. My brother Mainwaring took his oath as one of my deputies: ſo did Mr. Street.

1672. Jan. 24. I was entertained at dinner by the Venetian Agent.

May 8.

May 8. Two *Hor.* 40 minutes, *post merid.* I preſented my book of the Garter to the King.

July 20. I and my wife went to Mr. Lilly's, where we ſtayed till September the 2d.

Aug. 20. My good friend Mr. Wale, ſent me Dr. Dee's original books and papers.

Sept. 14. The Earl of Peterborough having about June, by the Duke of York's command, called at my chamber in the Temple, for one of my books of the Garter, to carry to the Duke, then at ſea; the Duke received it with much pleaſure, and the Earl believed he had read it all over.

27. Mr. Philip Floyd's patent paſſed the Great Seal for the reverſion of my office of Comptroller of the Exciſe.

Octob. 12. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I ſprained my right foot.

17. The Earl of Peterborough preſented me to the Duke of York, who told me he had read a great part of my book; that I had done a great deal of honour to the Order of the Garter; that I had taken a great deal of pains therein; and deſerved encouragement, 9 *Hor.* 20 minutes *ante merid.*

Decemb. 17. Being at the Treaſury chamber, the Lord Treaſurer Clifford very courteouſly invited me to his lodgings in the court.

20. I waited on him, and was received with great kindneſs.

23. The Earl of Briſtol gave great commendations of my book; and ſaid, 'he 'thought the Knights of the Garter were 'obliged to preſent me with ſome con-'ſiderable gift, and that himſelf would 'move it.'

1673. Jan 11. This evening I ſat with the Lord Treaſurer two hours.

27. Ten *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.* the Earl of Bedford gave his approbation, with great commendation of my book of the Garter.

Feb. 3. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I delivered my petition to the Earl of Arlington, for the cuſtom of paper, with a deſire of his opinion about it. He anſwered, it was but a reaſonable requeſt, and he would confer with the Lord Treaſurer about it, before he moved the King; and that he would do me ſervice.

13. Eight *Hor.* 20 minutes *poſt merid.* I moved the Lord Treaſurer for my arrears of my penſion as Windſor Herald, and to favour my petition for getting the cuſtom of ſome paper. The firſt he ſaid ſhould be done; and to the ſecond, he would be my friend: and ſo he was.

March 13. My book of the Garter was ſent to Captain Bartie, to be preſented to the King of Denmark.

16.

16. I grew indiſpoſed with a fulneſs in my ſtomach; but taking ſome phyſick, I grew well.

25. The Earl of Denbigh came to my houſe to viſit me.

April 2. Seven *Hor. poſt merid.* coming from Windſor in a coach with Sir Edward Walker, the coach overturned, and I ſprained my left wriſt.

17. I delivered my book of the Garter to Sir John Finch, to preſent it to the Duke of Tuſcany.

May 24. I received the Lord Treaſurer's warrant for one hundred and ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence, the arrears of my penſion.

June 18. I received my Privy-Seal for four hundred pounds out of the cuſtom of paper, which the King was pleaſed to beſtow upon me, for my work of the Garter.

29. I was let blood.

July 4. The learned and ingenious Sir Robert Murrey died.

Sept. 29. I renewed my leaſe of Homerich lands, from the vicars of Litchfield.

Octob. 4. I and my wife came from Herſham to London, having ſpent a good part of the ſummer with Mr. Lilly.

12. The Lady Forſter, Sir Humfrey Forſter's widow, died.

Novemb. 8. This morning Dr. Wharton was found almoſt dead in his bed of an apoplexy, and palſy on his left ſide.

12. He ſent for me at midnight, and becauſe ſome differences had formerly fallen out between us, he deſired to be reconciled to me: which he was.

15. Ten *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* Dr. Wharton died, and was buried in Baſinghall church in a vault.

Decemb. 3. Dr. Teme, the phyſician, died this evening. He was buried at St. Andrew's Underſhaft the 7th of January following.

1674. Feb. 25. Nine *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I deſired Mr. Hayes, the Earl Marſhal's Secretary, to move his Lord, to give me leave to reſign my Herald's place.

April 2. The Earl Marſhal came to ſee my chamber in the Temple.

13. He gave me a George in gold, which his grandfather wore when he went Embaſſador into Germany.

24. My wife and I went to Mr. Lilly's, where we ſtayed till the 8th of September following.

May 29. About Five *poſt merid.* the order was made in the Chapter Houſe at Windſor, for recommending me to the Knights of the Garter.

June 20. I dined with the Duke of Lauderdale at Ham, whither he had invited me, and treated me very kindly.

July 1. Sir John Davis, ſome time of Panborne in Berkſhire, died.

20. I met with Mr. Thomas Henſhaw upon his return from Denmark, having brought me a gold chain, and that King's medal thereat, from the ſaid King.

27. I firſt ſpake with the Prince Elector of Brandenburgh's Envoy.

Auguſt 1. I lent Mr. Edward Hopkins four hundred pounds, upon a mortgage of his lands in Little Pipe near Litchfield.

4. Sir William Swan, the King's Reſident at Hamburgh, gave me an account of his ſending my books of the Garter to the Duke of Saxony, and Prince Elector of Brandenburgh, and gave me a letter from the ſaid Prince.

Sept. 17. I waited on the King, and ſhewed him the gold chain the King of Denmark ſent me: he liked it well, and gave me leave to wear it.

October 2. Eleven *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I and my wife firſt entered my houſe at South-Lambeth.

5. This night Mr. Tredeſcant was in danger of being robbed, but moſt ſtrangely prevented.

28. I waited on the Earl Marſhal, to gain his leave for diſpoſing of my Herald's place. He told me I was a perſon of that ability, that he was loath to leave me; and put off the diſcourſe to a further time.

Novemb. 17. I received a caſe of excellent piſtols, and a ſilver hilt for a ſword, ſent me as a preſent, from the Earl of Caſtlemaine, from Liege.

26. Mrs. Tredeſcant being willing to deliver up the rarities to me, I carried ſeveral of them to my houſe.

Decemb. 1. I began to remove the reſt of the rarities to my houſe at South-Lambeth.

2. This night my affair about the enlarging my control upon the counties, was ſettled.

18. Mr. Lilly fell ſick, and was let blood in the left foot, a little above the ancle: new moon the day before, and the ſun eclipſed.

20. Mr. Lilly had a great pain in his left leg, which laſted twenty four hours, and put him into a great fever.

23. My wife went to ſee him.

26. I went to viſit him alſo.

28. The humour being fixed in two places upon the top of his left foot (one being the place he was let blood in) and now grown ripe, they were lanced by Mr. Agar, an apothecary (and no leſs a good ſurgeon)

ſurgeon) of Kingſton: after which he began to be at more eaſe, and the fever abated.

I was preſent at the operation.

1675. Jan. 6. I wore the chain of gold, ſent me from the King of Denmark, before the King, in his proceeding to the chapel, to offer gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh.

20. The Earl of Winchelſea, Sir William Swan, and Mr. Thynn, were entertained at my chamber in the Temple.

29. This afternoon I obtained the Earl Marſhal's leave to reſign my Herald's place.

Feb. 16. Colonel Gervais Hollis, a Maſter of the Requeſts, died.

21. Two *Hor. poſt merid.* I ſealed the counterpart of Mr. Hopkins's mortgage of Little Pipe in *com.* Stafford, to me for four hundred pounds.

25. Mr. Dethick offered me three hundred pounds, if I would reſign my Herald's place to him.

March 1. This night Mr. Sandford offered me the like ſum, if I would reſign it to him.

9. Colonel Gervais Hollis's body was carried through London, towards Mansfield in Nottinghamſhire, where he was buried.

24. Lord

24. Lord Hatton and his ſiſters dined with me.

26. Mr. Smith, of Moorfields, died: he had an excellent good library of books.

April 17. My brother Dugdale having agreed with me for my Herald's place, this morning moved the Earl Marſhal that he might ſucceed me; which he granted.

The ſame morning I agreed with my carpenter for building the additional rooms I made to my houſe at South-Lambeth.

27. This afternoon Sir William Swan told me, the Prince Elector of Brandenburgh had given order for a preſent to me, and that it lay ready for me at Hamburgh.

May 1. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I and my wife came to my houſe at South-Lambeth, to lie there.

5. Ten *Hor.* 20 minutes *ante merid.* I laid the firſt ſtone of my new building there.

20. This day Monſieur Swerene, the Prince Elector of Brandenburgh's Envoy, came to viſit me at my chamber in the Temple.

25. My wife, in getting up of her horſe near Farnham Caſtle, fell down, and hurt the hinder part of her hand and left ſhoulder.

June 6,

June 6. Mr. Richard Hodgkinſon (my old friend, and fellow gentleman of the Ordnance in the garriſon of Oxford) was buried.

25. Six *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* the foundation of St. Paul's Church in London was laid.

27. Dr. Barlow (my old and worthy friend) was conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln.

July 15. This morning a jury of ſewers ſet out my brick wall made towards the highway, at my houſe at South-Lambeth.

21. Four *Hor. poſt merid.* I ſurrendered my Herald's place to his Majeſty in Chancery, before Sir —— Clerk, one of the Maſters of that court.

Aug. 28. One *Hor.* 40 minutes *poſt merid.* I and my wife came to dwell at my houſe in South-Lambeth.

Octob. 7. Monſ. la Mere (lately ſent from the Prince of Orange to his Majeſty) gave me a viſit at my chamber in the Temple.

8. I firſt became acquainted with Monſieur Spanheim, the Prince Elector Palatine's Envoy to his Majeſty; 9 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* He was the Prince Elector Palatine's Plenipotentiary at Cologne; and there Sir Joſeph Williamſon delivered to him my book of the Garter, to preſent to the ſaid Prince.

26. My

26. My brother Dugdale was created Windſor Herald.

27. Mr. Thomas Roſs (tutor to the Duke of Monmouth) died.

29. Between nine and ten *Hor. poſt merid.* my uncle Ralph Aſhmole died.

Novemb. 2. I fell ill of a cold.

7. Great pain in my farther tooth, on the left ſide of my upper jaw, which continued three or four days.

16. Eleven *Hor. ante merid.* I began to plant my garden walls with fruit-trees.

This day Robert Chaloner, Lancaſter Herald, died.

Decemb. 4. I firſt became acquainted with Mr. Butler, chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and an able aſtrologian.

1676. Feb. 27. Sir Thomas Chicheley and Sir Jonas Moore came to dine with me.

March 10. I fell ill of the toothach, and the fartheſt tooth in the upper ſide of my left jaw was very looſe.

29. My teeth fell looſer, and put me to ſo great trouble, I could not chew my meat for a week.

31. My brother Harriſon of Litchfield, died.

April 6. I was afflicted with the vertigo, and drew out my tooh that had ſo greatly troubled me.

7. The

7. The officers of Arms ſeeming unwilling to let me have the funeral-turn, which was my due, I acquainted the Earl Marſhal with it: and this day, Sir Thomas St. George waiting on him, he told him, he would have me have the benefit of it. His Lordſhip afterwards told me, that he ſaid to Sir Thomas, 'That he 'eſteemed me the beſt officer in the of-'fice; and if he could have perſuaded me 'to have ſtaid in the office, I ſhould not 'have wanted the beſt employment, and 'have been made the fore-horſe in the 'team; and that I had deſerved greatly, 'in getting money for rebuilding the 'office.'

Apr. 16. This evening the gout took me in my left foot, and held me for a fortnight.

Aug. 8. I fell ill of a looſeneſs, and had above twenty ſtools.

Sept. 4. Mr. Ogilby died.

November 20. I fell ill of the gout in my left toe: This fit held me a fortnight.

Decemb. 18. My old friend Major Brooke, the ſtationer, died.

22. He was buried.

1677. Feb. 6. My uncle Ralph Aſhmole's widow died.

7. In the afternoon I took cold in my head.

14. I took cold in my right ear.

19. Mr.

19. Mr. Richard Edlin, one of my clerks, died this night.

20. Sir Edward Walker, Garter, died ſuddenly.

21, 23, 25. I took *pile macri* which did me much good.

21. Mr. Richard Edlin was buried in St. Alhallow's Church-Yard.

22. The Biſhop of Saliſbury wrote to me, that he had moved the King to beſtow Garter's place upon me. I wrote back to excuſe my accepting of it, with deſires to move no further on my behalf.

26. The Earl Marſhal ſent his Secretary, Mr. Hayes, to have my opinion, whether Garter's place was in the King's or his diſpoſe. I gave my opinion, that it was in the King's diſpoſal.

Mar. 6. The Biſhop of Saliſbury came to my houſe, to acquaint me with the King's command, that I ſhould aſſiſt him in making good the King's title to Garter's place.

28. 7 *Hor. ante merid.* I laid the foundation of my back buildings to my houſe at South-Lambeth.

30. There was a hearing before ſome of the Lords of the Council and ſome Knights of the Garter, between the King and Earl Marſhal, at which Garter's place was adjudged to be ſolely in the King's diſpoſal.

31. Mr.

31. Mr. Bartie earneſtly preſſed me to accept of Garter's place, intimating my Lord Treaſurer thought me fitteſt for it; which I excuſed: nevertheleſs he gave me an opportunity to ſpeak with my Lord, which when I had, I forebore ſaying any thing of this matter to him.

Apr. 1. Mr. Bartie ſet more earneſtly upon me to be Garter; but I abſolutely refuſed.

2. My father Dugdale was pitched upon to be Garter, and the King gave his conſent: whereupon the Earl Marſhal ſent for him out of Warwickſhire by this night's poſt.

10. My father Dugdale came to town.

11. The Earl Marſhal told my father Dugdale, that I had carried myſelf very fairly in the matter between him and the King, touching Garter's place.

May 10. 9 *Hor. ante merid.* The firſt foundation of the rebuilding of Cheapſide was laid.

12. About noon I ſprained my right foot, near my ancle.

24. My father Dugdale was created Garter, principal King at Arms.

25. He was Knighted.

June 1. He took his oath in a chapter, called to that purpoſe.

7. My Lord Treaſurer agreed to have my comptrol continue upon the vouchers.

July 2.

July 2. I ſealed a leaſe of my houſe in Litchfield to Mr. Falkingham, for eight years.

Another to Henry Aldrich of the lands in Homerich, for ſeven years.

Another to Mr. William Webb, of the Moggs in Litchfield, for eleven years.

10. I made a feaſt at my houſe in South-Lambeth, in honour of my benefactors to my work of the Garter.

Aug. 1. I received four hundred pounds, being the mortgage-money I formerly lent upon Mr. Hopkin's eſtate, at Little Pipe near Litchfield.

Sept. 10. 1 *Hor. poſt merid.* Mr. Roſe, the King's gardener, died.

17. Count Walleſtein, Envoy Extraordinary from the Emperor, Marquis de Eſte Borganiainiers, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Spain, Monſieur Swerene, Envoy Extraordinary from the Prince Elector of Brandenburgh, and the Count of Flamburgh, beſtowed a viſit on me at my houſe at South-Lambeth.

28. There was a fire in the Inner Temple.

Oct. 4. Mr. Loggan began to draw my picture in black lead.

16. My Lord Biſhop of Oxford gave me a viſit at Mr. Loggan's.

31. Myne Heere van Zeelin (Secretary to the Prince of Orange) came to viſit me at my chamber in the Temple. Nov.

Nov. 4. Mr. Rawlins, Town-clerk of Litchfield, acquainted me, that Mr. Richard Dyott, Parliament-man for that city, was likely to die, and that the Bailiffs, &c. were willing to chuſe me in his room: but I anſwered, I had no inclination to accept of that honour, and therefore deſired him to give my thanks to all that were ſo well affected to me.

10. Myne Heere van Zeelin, and the Dutch Embaſſadors, came to my houſe to viſit me.

Dec. 10. Doctor Plot (*a*) came to me, to requeſt me to nominate him to be Reader, at Oxford, of the philoſophical lecture upon natural things. I told him if the univerſity liked him, he ſhould have my ſuffrage.

19. 2 *Hor. poſt merid.* Mrs. Ogilby died.

This morning my tooth, next my fore-tooth, in my upper jaw, was very looſe, and I eaſily pulled it out.

Having received ſeveral letters from Litchfield, to requeſt me to ſtand for a Parliament-man there: I at length conſented, provided it was not too late: and upon attempting it by others for me, found it was ſo; for I found the magiſtrates and friends not ſo cordial to me as I expected, and therefore drew off and would not ſtand.

(*a*) See Appendix.

1678. Feb. 9. One of my middle teeth, in my lower jaw, was broke out while I was at dinner.

Mar. 23. The gout took me in my right toe.

Apr. 4. 11 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* my wife told me, that Mrs. Tredescant was found drowned in her pond. She was drowned the day before about noon, as appeared by some circumstance.

6. 8 *Hor. post merid.* She was buried in a vault in Lambeth Churchyard, where her husband and his son John had been formerly laid.

22. I removed the pictures from Mrs. Tredescant's house to mine.

May 11. My Lord Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Nicholas, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, gave me a visit at my house, 7 *Hor.* 30 min. *ante merid.*

June 18. Mr. Lea and his wife's release to me of the one hundred pounds I was to pay after Mrs. Tredescant's death, bears date.

July 17. About eight of the clock this morning I was served with a subpœna out of the Chancery, at Mr. Searles's suit.

Aug. 5. The Earl of Peterborough came to visit me at my chamber in the Temple, and to see my collection of coins.

Sept. 28. I took my purging pills.

29. I bled with leeches.

1679. Jan. 26. 10 *Hor. poſt merid.* The fire in the Temple began next room to my chamber, and burned my library, &c.

Mar. 25. I entered upon the houſe and ground adjoining to my houſe at South-Lambeth, which Mr. Bartholmew let me a leaſe of.

31. 9 *Hor.* 45 minutes *ante merid.* Mr. Bartholmew ſealed my leaſe.

April I firſt became acquainted with the Lord Roberts.

June 8. I went to Sir —— Napier, at Great Linford in Buckinghamſhire, and came thither next day 8 *Hor. poſt merid.*

14. I returned to London.

27. I viſited Monſieur Spanheim.

Aug. 15. My Lord Grace of Canterbury, (Dr. Sancroft) came to viſit me at my houſe, and ſpent a great part of the day with me in my ſtudy.

25. Sir Jonas Moore, Surveyor of the Ordnance, and my old friend, died.

Sept. 2. Sir Jonas Moore was buried in the Tower-Church.

About the end of October I was much troubled with the vertigo.

1680. Mar. 15. 8 *poſt merid.* I fell ill of the gout in my left great toe.

20. It fell into my right great toe, and this fit held me for five weeks.

Apr. 17. My wife fell ill of a rheumatiſm.

June 28. The Countess of Clarendon came to visit me and my wife.

July 26. The Archbishop of Canterbury's sister and niece came to visit my wife.

Sept. 6. The Earl of Radnor, Lord President of the Council, with his Lady and daughters, dined at my house.

15. 5 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* Sir Charles Cotterell presented me to the Prince Elector Palatine, in the Council-chamber, whose hand I kissed, and had much discourse with him about the Order of the Garter, into which he was ready to be elected.

16. 12 *Hor. post merid.* I presented the said Prince with one of my books of the Garter; which he courteously received: and now I had much discourse with him.

18. Sir Charles Cotterell told me this morning, that one of the Prince Elector's gentlemen came to him the day before, to desire me to dine with him this day. Hereupon I attended him accordingly, and he placed me next himself, on his left hand, and received me with great respect; and when he rose, took me aside, and told me he had heard much of my worth and esteem, and desired to have a correspondence with me, after he returned into his country.

Sept. 24.

Sept. 24. This day between eleven and twelve, my esteemed good friend Mr. John Staniesby of Clement's-Inn died. He fell sick at Northampton the 17th instant, between eleven and twelve of the clock, as he was coming towards London from his native country, Derbyshire. He was buried the 26th of September at night, in a vault, in St. Clement Danes church, under the seats belonging to the gentlemen of Clement's-Inn. He gave me this legacy by his will, *viz.* '*ITEM*, I give 'to my honoured friend Elias Ashmole 'Esq. and his wife, each of them a ring 'of twenty shillings value, and likewise 'what books in my study he shall please 'to make choice of (many of them being 'his noble gift to me after I had lost 'many of my own by the fire at my 'chamber).'

The Prince Elector Palatine, at his departure, on September 18, put a medal of gold into Sir Charles Cotterell's hands, which had his father's picture on the one side, and an escutcheon of his arms on the other, supported by a lion; and bade him to deliver it to me, and to assure me, that when he came home, he would also send me one of his own.

27. This day, Sir Charles Cotterel sent me the medal.

November 4. Mr. Bartholomew ſealed me a new leaſe of my houſe, &c. in South-Lambeth.

16. I received from the hands of Sir Robert Southwell, lately returned from Berlin, a gold chain with a medal, from the Elector of Brandenburgh. It is compoſed of ninety links of philagreen links in great knobs, moſt curious work. Upon the one ſide is the Elector's effigy, on the other, the view of Stralſund, and made upon the rendition of that city into his hands. It weighs twenty two ounces.

29. I waited on the King, and acquainted him with the honour the Elector had done me, and ſhewed him the chain. He liked it well, and commended the workmanſhip.

1681. Feb. 9. Mr. William Chiffinch, Cloſet-keeper to the King, dined at my houſe, and then told me that his nephew Thomas Chiffinch (ſon to Thomas Chiffinch, my moſt worthy friend) died the week before.

March 15. Between nine and ten *ante merid.* Mr. Butler, the minister and aſtrologian, brought me acquainted with Sir Edward Deering, brother to Sir Edward Deering, now one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

April 5. Having been very lame in the hollow of my right foot moſt part of the

winter (occasioned, as I suppose, by applying pultices to my gout, which relaxed my tendons) this evening my pains were so encreased I could scarce go, and put me into so great a heat, that I became very feverish, and my urine pricked me sore as it came from me.

6. I took my usual sweat, which made me well, and strengthened my tendons, so that the next day I went to London, and walked much up and down the streets, without any pain: at night I became hot, and slept ill.

9, 11 *Hor.* 45 minutes *post merid.* I fell into a cold fit of an ague, which, with the hot fit, held me seven hours.

11. I took, early in the morning, a good dose of Elixir, and hung three spiders about my neck, and they drove my ague away——*Deo gratias.*

14. Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely, came this afternoon to visit me at my house, and staid in my study till night.

May 19. My worthy friend and my neighbour, both at the Temple and in the country, Thomas Siderfin Esq; died, near Epsom, about 4 *Hor. post merid.*

24. Mr. Siderfin was buried in Lambeth Church.

25. At the end of dinner Mr. Lilly's left side of his mouth was drawn aside, but recovered again.

30. This evening the dead palsy seized on the left side of my old friend Mr. William Lilly, astrologer.

June 2. Mr. Lilly took a vomit: at night he took his bed.

4. I went to visit him, but found him beyond hope.

9. 3 *Hor. ante merid.* Mr. Lilly died.

10. 8 *Hor. post merid.* He was buried in the chancel of Walton Church.

12. I bought Mr. Lilly's library of books of his widow for fifty pounds.

12. I sold one of my chambers at the Temple to Mr. ——— Holt, for one hundred and thirty eight pounds: and in this evening he was admitted.

17. This day my god-daughter——the only child of my neighbour Thomas Siderfin Esq; died.

July 1. Mr. Sawbridge the stationer, an old friend of Mr. Lilly's and mine, died.

6. Mr. Sawbridge was buried in the middle aisle of St. Bridget Church in Fleet-street.

This day my wife went towards Blyth-Hall, with Sir William Dugdale, her father, to visit her mother.

Aug. 12. Sir George Wharton died at Enfield between one and two in the morning.

18. My wife returned from Blyth-Hall.

25. Sir

25. Sir George Wharton was buried in the Tower.

September 19. My wife miſcarried, having gone about three months.

October 1. I took purging phyſick.

2. I took my ſweat for the prevention of the gout.

4. About 8 *Hor. ante merid.* I fell ſick of the cholick, which held me with ſharp pains, eſpecially on my right ſide, for 24 hours; and then I was preſently eaſed, by applying bay-ſalt and bran, heated in a frying-pan; but before nothing elſe could eaſe me.

24. Mr. Thomas Flatman came to my houſe to viſit me.

November 1. Mrs. Lilly came to my houſe, and ſtayed a week.

4. About 9 *Hor. ante merid.* I ſealed an aſſignment of my judgment of 1200 *l.* formerly given me by Sir Robert Thomas, and about an hour after, received from Sir Robert Clayton 800 *l.* a compoſition agreed on with Sir Robert Thomas, out of which I gave him 70 *l.*

December 18. (*a*) About 4 *poſt merid.* my dear mother-in-law, the Lady Dugdale, died.

21. She was buried in a ſepulchre made in the chancel of Shuſtock church, by

(*a*) Vide laſt page of Sir William Dugdale's Life—London, 1714. 8vo.

Sir

Sir William Dugdale, for himself and her.

1682. Mar. 10. About 5 *Hor. poſt merid.* I received a ſummons, to appear at a lodge to be held the next day at Maſons-Hall in London.

11. Accordingly I went, and about noon was admitted into the fellowſhip of Free-Maſons, by Sir William Wilſon Knight, Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr. William Wodman, Mr. William Grey, Mr. Samuel Taylour, and Mr. William Wiſe.

I was the ſenior fellow among them (it being thirty five years ſince I was admitted) there was preſent beſides myſelf the fellows afternamed, Mr. Thomas Wiſe, Maſter of the Maſons-company this preſent year; Mr. Thomas Shorthoſe, Mr. Thomas Shadbolt, ——— Waidsford, Eſq; Mr. Nicholas Young, Mr. John Shorthoſe, Mr. William Hamon, Mr. John Thompſon, and Mr. William Stanton. We all dined at the Half-Moon-Tavern in Cheapſide, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new-accepted Maſons.

April 1. My wife fell ill of a rheumatiſm: it began in her left ancle, then into her left knee and right toe.

18. Sir Charles Cotterell carried me to the Morocco Embaſſador.

Alcade,

Alcade, Abdelloe, and Bomonzore came to my house, and dined with me.

May 17. George Smaldridge was elected out of Westminster-School to go to Christ Church in Oxford.

20. The Marquis of Worcester and Earl of Aylesbury, with their eldest sons, gave me a visit at my house this afternoon.

22. This night, scratching the right side of my buttocks, above the fundament, thence proceeded a violent sharp humour.

25. I applied pultices thereunto (and now was not able to sit or lie upon my bed) it was made of white bread crums, oil of roses and rose-leaves.

28. The pultices having well drawn the humour out, I applied *Unguentum Nutritum* to it.

June 4. Being hard bound in my body I was five hours before I could go to stool, and suffered much torment.

9. I purged with pills.

13. I went abroad again, thanks be to God.

17. Bomonzore dined with me, and gave me several excellent receipts.

July 5. The Morocco Embassador dined at my house.

13. The Astrologer's feast was restored by Mr. Moxon.

16. The Lord Lansdown, and Sir William Haward gave me a kind visit at my house.

20. The Morocco Embassador made ready to go away, but the Alcade slipt out of his lodgings, and hindered his journey.

21. The Alcade was taken.

22. This morning I gave the Morocco Embassador a large magnifying glass. In the afternoon the Alcade returned to the Embassador's lodgings.

23. About 3 in the morning the Embassador went away.

August 16. I went towards Oxford, to see the building prepared to receive my rarities, where I arrived about 7 of the clock in the evening.

17. Between 8 and 9. I first saw the said building. I was invited by the Vice-Chancellor, and dined with him at Queen's College.

22. 6 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* I arrived back at my house.

October 23. My Lord Chancellor Finch sent for me to cure him of his rheumatism. I dined there, but would not undertake the cure.

1683. January 23. I took a great cold, going by water, and kept my chamber three days.

29. The Aſtrologers feaſt was held at the Three Cranes in Chancery-Lane: Sir Edward Deering and the Town-clerk of London were ſtewards.

February 2. My picture (after ſent to Oxford) came home. 3 *Hor. poſt merid.* I acquainted Mr. Woolrich, in part, with the ſecret of raiſing flowers from a virgin-earth.

15. I began to put up my rarities in caſes to ſend to Oxford.

March 7. I took purging pills, which wrought very well.

10. The gout fell into my left great toe this morning.

14. The laſt load of my rarities were ſent to the barge, and this afternoon I relapſed into the gout.

21. The gout fell into my right great toe.

April 8. Major Huntingdon came to my houſe, to viſit me.

10. I took my pills, and purged very well.

11. The pains in my feet returned.

24. Mr. Anthony Bowyer, and his lady, came to viſit me and my wife.

25. I went firſt abroad, after ſo long confinement, by reaſon of my gout.

26. Dr. Smallwood, Dean of Litchfield, died.

Auguſt 6. The ſurveyors of the high-ways began to raiſe the cauſey at Horſhead ſtill.

9. They finiſhed their work, all at my charge.

September 5. I took pills,

6. I took a ſweat,

7. I took leeches: all wrought very well.

17. Monſieur Job Ludolph came to viſit me.

23. I firſt ſaw Dr. Liſter, at my Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury's at dinner.

24. The Prince Elector of the Rhine's ſecretary dined with me. As alſo a noble-man of that country, a ſon of a patrician of Nurembergh, and Dr. Liſter.

26. A ſtitch took me at the ſetting on of my left hip.

28. I was very much troubled with it.

October 8. Monſieur Lodolph, and his ſon, dined with me.

10. I gave Mr. Heyſeg a book of the Garter: my wife gave him three gold buckles.

16. The Commiſſioners of the Exciſe dined with me.

30. I took leave of Monſieur Ludolph and his ſon, who were returning into Germany.

November, Monſieur Ludolph went from London.

De-

December 7. A boil began under my chin.

26. 6 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I had a long fit of a vertigo.

1684. February 4. Mr. Jean Schielderas, the Biſhop of Bergen's ſon, and Mr. Godfreed Roſs, a Pruſſian, viſited me.

March 5. 11 *Hor. ante merid.* a green ſtaff was ſent me by the Steward of St. Thomas's Hoſpital, with a ſignification that I was choſen one of the Governors.

April 6. Major Huntingdon dined with me.

8. There was an inſtallation of George Prince of Denmark.

21. Major Huntingdon died; and this day Mr. Thomas Henſhaw, Mr. Rogers, Dr. More, and Dr. Bernard dined at my houſe.

30. Major Huntingdon was buried at St. Botolph Alderſgate church.

May 5. 2 *Hor. poſt merid.* I laid the foundation of my new ſtable.

14. I took a ſweat.

19. Sir Thomas Walcot came to viſit me.

June 27. I bruiſed my left great toe.

July 18. 10 *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* my two coach-horſes were brought to me.

22. My coach was brought to me.

23.

23. I went towards Oxford.

28. I returned home.

August 4. Several French gentlemen, and Johannes Serenius Chodowitskey, a Polander, came to visit me.

6. I rubbed the skin near my rump, whereupon it began to be very sore.

8. I purged.

9. I took leeches.

10. I purged again.

12. I applied a plaister to it.

15. Mr. Agur applied a balsam.

17. The sore began to break.

18. Dr. Plott, sent from Oxford to visit me, came to me.

19. I fell into a looseness, which continued for two days.

24. Mr. Agur lanced the sore.

26. Being hard bound, I was two hours before I could go to stool, and then with exceeding great trouble.

31. I was lanced again, to prevent a fistula.

September 10. By this time the sore, near my fundament, was healed.

October 20. Sir Thomas Duppa, and Mr Matthews dined with me.

November 19. Dr. Plott presented me with his book *de Origine Fontium*, which he had dedicated to me.

24. My teeth began to be loose.

De-

December 8. Mr. Haak brought Mr. Bowen of Upton in Pembrokeſhire, to viſit me.

19. Dr. Chamberlain propoſed to me to bring Dr. Liſter to my wife, that he might undertake her.

22. They both came to my houſe, and Dr. Liſter did undertake her.

1685. January 24. I was much troubled with my teeth, in my upper jaw, on my left ſide, which, by fits, continued for a week; and then I held pills in my mouth, made of burned allom, pepper, and tobacco, which drew much rheum from me, and ſo I was eaſed.

February 6. King Charles II. my gracious maſter, died.

14. About 9 *poſt merid.* he was buried.

13. I took a violent cold, which held me till the 5th of next month.

26. I took my purging pills;

27. I took my ſweat, both worked very well.

March 2. 5 *Hor.* 15 minutes *poſt merid.* I received an obliging letter from the Bailiffs, Juſtices, &c. of Litchfield; ſo alſo from the Dean, inviting me to ſtand to be one of their Burgeſſes for Parliament. I ſent them word that I would ſtand:

3. Whereupon they ſet about getting votes for me, and I found the citizens

very affectonate and hearty. About a fortnight after my Lord Dartmouth told me, the King would take it kindly from me, if I would give way to Mr. Lewſon. Upon this I applied myſelf to my Lord Treaſurer, and deſired to know of him the King's pleaſure, by whom I found it was the King's deſire, and then I immediately wrote down, to acquaint my friends that I would reſign; but they would not believe my letter, which occaſioned me to go to the King, and let him know ſo much; who told me he did not know I ſtood, when he gave Mr. Lewſon encouragement to go down, for if he had, he would not have done it. I told him I was all obedience, which he took very kindly. I then wrote down again, to aſſure them I would ſit down, and ſo Mr. Lewſon, with the aſſiſtance of my votes, carried it at the day of election.

April 1. 6 *Hor. poſt merid.* I firſt became acquainted with Mr. Negos, ſecretary to the Duke of Norfolk.

27. Mr. —— of Nurembergh, and a French gentleman, which Mr. Labadie brought along with him, dined with me.

May 1. Judge Walcot, and Mr. Cook, the Prothonotary dined with me.

4. Monſieur Spanheim, Envoy etraordinary from the Elector of Brandenburgh, and his Lady, and Monſieur Beſlor his agent

agent here, with Sir Charles Cotterel, his Lady, and ſon, dined with me.

5. The Duke of Norfolk invited me to dine with him the next day; which I did, and was well received.

13. I took my purging pills,

14. And my ſweat.

29. I viſited Dr. Smith, Biſhop of Carliſle, who was of my ancient acquaintance at Oxford.

31. This night again a pain (in my ſleep) took me in my middle toe of my right foot, which removed to my ancle, and after three days went away.

June 2. A pain took the uppermoſt tooth but one, on the right ſide of my uppermoſt jaw.

4. My ſaid tooth ſunk ſo low I could not chew.

9. A boil roſe in the left ſide of my throat.

17. This evening I had a grievous fit of the toothach.

July 9. The Counteſs of Clarendon, Biſhop of St. Aſaph, Mr. Henſhaw, Mr. Evelyn, Dr. Teniſon, and Mr. Fraſier ſupped at my houſe.

11. The Earl of Radnor fell ſick about noon.

17. 1 *Hor. poſt merid.* The Earl of Radnor died.

20. Dr. Ridgley (my old acquaintance) gave me a viſit.

21. I went to Windſor, to the inſtallation of the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Peterborough, and Lord Treaſurer.

25. The Earl of Radnor's body was carried into Cornwall.

Auguſt 4. I and my wife went to Mr. Napier's at Brookhill.

5. We went to Mr. Hutchinſon's at Delroe.

8. We returned home.

10. A boil began to appear in my right groin.

13. This night my boil broke.

15. Another appeared a little higher, but it died.

24. I went to Windſor, to the Inſtallation of the Earl of Feverſham.

September 5. Paſſing upon the Thames, I took a great cold.

9. I took a purge.

10. I took a ſweat.

October 13. I took my ſweat.

28. The Earl of Peterborough ſhewed me his rare collection of gems and ancient rings.

30. I became acquainted with Mr. Cary, who came lately from Berlin. He told me his Electoral Highneſs of Brandenburgh did often ſpeak, with a great deal of honour, of me, and deſigned to have my

my book of the Garter tranſlated into Dutch.

November 10. This morning I had ſome diſcourſe with Mr. Gerard, about purchaſing Mr. Plommer's farm.

16. Mr. Dean of Windſor, and Dr. Chamberlain the Civilian, brought Sir John Faulconer of Scotland, to dine with me. I found him a very ingenious gentlemen, well read in his own country antiquities and coins.

December 3. I firſt ſat upon the Commiſſion of Sewers, it being opened this morning, and myſelf named therein; but nothing further was done at this ſitting.

14. Sir John Faulconer dined with me, and I gave him divers of my Engliſh coins.

16. I waited on the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as far as St. Albans in his journey thither. The jolting of the coach, which drove very hard, raiſed a ſwelling in my left breech.

1686. January 9. Mr. Cook, my neighbour at South Lambeth, having lately ſet up a pale along his garden, and encroached upon the church-way about two foot, I undertook to complain of it; and this day Mr. Cooper, his landlord, and myſelf, upon a debate on the matter, agreed (by his conſent) to ſet it back a

foot and an half, which was done accordingly.

20. The Commiſſioners of Sewers met, and I (with ſome others of the Commiſſioners) took my oath.

February 1. Sir John Faulconer, a Scotch gentleman, died.

4. He was buried this night in the church of St. Margaret Weſtminſter.

10. This morning I dreamed, that being at my old houſe in Shire-Lane, the ſide of the garret ſeemed to totter and fall, inſomuch that I thought the houſe itſelf would preſently fall down.

This afternoon, about one of the clock my wife's father, Sir William Dugdale, died.

14. I moved the Duke of Norfolk, on my brother Dugdale's behalf, that he would move the King, that he might ſucceed him, which he promiſed to do; (but I found him more inclinable to prefer Sir Thomas St. George). In his diſcourſe he told me, no man was fitter for the place than myſelf, if I would accept of it; but I made the ſame excuſe to him as I did to his father, after the death of Sir Edward Walker.

19. The Duke of Norfolk propoſed to me, to give my brother Dugdale the place of Norroy, and the next day gave him aſſurance of it.

March 26. This night I piſſed ſo much, that I feared a diabetes, notwithſtanding I had kept myſelf very temperate all the ſpring time.

27. This morning I grew ill and very hot, and was troubled with a ſharpneſs of urine. I took ſyrup of white lilies in poſſet-drink, and the next day an emulſion of the four cooling ſeeds, (this kept me temperate) with water of violets and wood-bine, to waſh my mouth; and giving myſelf reſt and eaſe, I thank God, I recovered in a few days.

April 5. I took my ſweat.

May 6. My wife took Dr. Nagel's tincture.

17. I firſt dined at St. Thomas's Hoſpital, the general court being held there this day.

20. 11 *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* I firſt ſat upon the commiſſion for charitable uſes.

23. Dr. Plot preſented me with his Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire.

26. Mr. Plummer ſealed his part of the conveyance of the farm to me, and his wife acknowledged a fine before the Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.

July 10. This morning early the fang-tooth in the right ſide of my upper jaw fell out.

13. I began to repair my barn at South Lambeth for Goodman Ingram.

25. I took my ſweat.

Auguſt 2. I and my wife went to Brockhill to Mr. Napier's.

7. We went to Delroe to Mr. Hutchinſon's.

9. We returned to South Lambeth.

13. The gout fell into my left great toe: I applied leeches.

28. I applied black ſnails to my right foot, they being bruiſed; but they bliſtered and poiſoned the top of my foot, and after ſeveral breakings out, it was healed towards the middle of October.

September 8. I took my uſual ſweat.

23. 5 *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* I agreed upon conditions with Goodman Ingram, to make him a leaſe of the farm I bought of Mr. Plummer, except the oat-field.

29. Sir Philip Floyd (who had the reverſion of my office in the Exciſe) died.

October 7. I waited upon the King, upon his return to town from Windſor, who was pleaſed to receive me with much kindneſs.

12. I took a great cold in my neck, which held me ſix days.

25. 6 *Hor.* 45 *poſt merid.* I ſealed the leaſe of John Ingram.

26. The running gout ſeized on my wife's right inſtep. It continued ſhifting into her arms and knees with great torment till after Eaſter, and then ſhe began to ſet her feet on the ground, yet was not able to go abroad till towards Midſummer.

29. I received a letter from Sir Henry Chauncey, Treaſurer of the Temple, to invite me to the bench, but I wrote him an excuſe; and next day gave reaſons for my refuſal.

December 7. The Commiſſioners of Exciſe moved the Lord Treaſurer, ſhewing the neceſſity of my having another clerk, and obtained 80*l. per An.* ſalary for him.

23. 10. *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I received my order from the Lord Treaſurer, for a new clerk, with 80*l. per An.* ſalary.

23. This day my nephew Dugdale (Sir John Dugdale's ſon) was married.

1687. January 5. The Earl of Rocheſter ſurrendered his ſtaff.

6. About 6 *poſt merid.* the Commiſſion for the Lord Commiſſioners was opened and read.

8. This morning the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, and myſelf, waited on the new Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

13.

13. The gout fell into my right hand, which diſabled me from uſing my pen for above a quarter of a year.

16. I took my ſweat.

17, 18, 19. I was much troubled with the wind cholick.

24. I applied leeches to my right hand.

27. The ſwelling of my hand abated.

28. There were two tides this morning.

February 8. This afternoon the gout ſwelled my hand again, and the night paſſed with great torment.

4. This night my hand did moſt grievouſly pain me.

March 3. This afternoon I and my wife were both ſuddenly ſtruck with a cold and hoarſeneſs.

I felt the effects of this hoarſeneſs, in the back part of my throat, for a long time after.

22. 2 *Hor.* 30 minutes *poſt merid.* An iſſue was made in my left arm.

April 16. My wife took Mr. Bigg's vomit, which wrought very well.

19. She took *pulvis ſanctus*, in the afternoon ſhe took cold.

N. B. That both were too ſtrong phyſick for her,

21. My wife fell very ill, and into a great weakneſs.

26. I purged with my uſual pills.

27.

27. I took my uſual ſweat.

Towards the end of this month my wife began to mend, but not fully recover till a fortnight after.

July 16. This morning I received a Parcel of books from J. W. Imhoff of Nurembergh, among which was his *Excellentium Familiarum in Gallia Genealogia.*

Auguſt 31. Sir John Chardin, and Mr. Bever, came to South Lambeth, to viſit me.

September 14. 10 *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.* I ſat for a ſecond picture to Mr. Ryley.

October 5. 11 *Hor.* 7 minutes *ante merid.* the Earl Marſhal's Court firſt ſat in the Painted Chamber at Weſtminſter.

7. Dr. Plot came to me at my office, and told me, that the Earl Marſhal had choſen him Regiſter of the Court.

8. 10 *Hor. ante merid.* I went firſt to the Earl Marſhal's Court, and when his Lordſhip roſe, he invited me to dine with him; which I did.

9. I took my uſual ſweat.(*a*)

(*a*) Here ends Mr. Aſhmole's M. S.

WHAT

WHAT remains further, I ſhall give you in the words of Mr. John Aubrey, F. R. S. who in his deſigned Survey of the County of Surrey, (repoſited in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford) towards the beginning, has theſe words —— "And now I am come as a "mourner to perform my laſt office at "the grave of my worthy friend Elias "Aſhmole, Eſq. whoſe body lieth buried "in the South aiſle (of the Church of "South Lambeth) at the Eaſt end, on the "North ſide of it, under a black marble, "with this inſcription.

Hic jacet inclytus ille & eruditiſſimus
Elias Aſhmole *Leichfeldenſis Armiger,*
inter alia in Republica Munera,
Tributi in cervicias contra rotulator,
Fœcialis autem Windſorienſis titulo
per annos plurimos dignatus,
Qui poſt duo connubia in Uxorem duxit tertiam
Elizabetham Gulielmi Dugdale
Militis, Garteri Principalis Regis Armorum
filiam;
Mortem obiit 18 *Maii,* 1692, *anno ætatis* 76.
Sed durante Muſæo Aſhmoleano, Oxon.
nunquam moriturus.

Near it, is an atchievement ſet up for the ſame perſon, whereon is the following coat

coat of arms, *viz.* Quarterly, Sable and Or, the firſt quarter on a *Fleur de lis*; of the ſecond; Aſhmole, impaling Dugdale, *viz.* Argent, a croſs malines Gules, and a Torteaux, with this Motto—*Ex una omnia.*

Over the entrance to the Muſæum, fronting the ſtreet is the following inſcription in capital letters:

Muſæum Aſhmoleanum, Schola Naturalis Hiſtoriæ, Officina Chymica.

Over the door of Mr. Aſhmole's Library, at the top of the ſtairs, is the following inſcription, in letters of gold, *viz.*

Libri Impreſſi & Manuſcripti e donis Clariſſ. Virorum D. Eliæ Aſhmole & Martini Liſter *quibus non paucos addidit Vir induſtrias nec infime de Re Antiquariâ Promeritus* D. Johannes Aubrey *de* Eaſton Peirce *apud* Wiltonienſes *Arm. & Soc. Reg. Socius.*

AN

AN

APPENDIX

OF

Original Letters ſent to and from Mr. Aſhmole.

A letter of thanks from the corporation of Litchfield, upon the receipt of a ſilver bowl, preſented to them by Mr. Aſhmole.

For the truly honoured Elias Aſhmole, Eſq. at his chamber in the Middle Temple, over Serjeant Maynard's chamber. In his abſence, to be left with the Butler or Porter of the Middle Temple, London.

Honoured Sir,

UPON Thurſday, being the 17th day of this inſtant January (a day ever to be rubrical amongſt our city re-

mem-

membrances) we received your Tina Argentea, your munificent ſilver bowl, cloathed, in its delivery, with all thoſe rich circumſtances of advantage, that could poſſibly either enable the gift to beſpeak the goodneſs and prudence of the giver, or invite the faireſt acceptation in the receiver. For if we conſider the perſon from whom, it is the gift of an Elias, a herald, not only proclaiming, but actually contributing good things to our city; and that by the hands of a Zacharias, a faithful meſſenger, who with the gift, did emphatically communicate the ſenſe and good affection of the giver. And if we conſider the time it was preſented, it was the day of our Epiphany ſeſſions of the peace for this city, where our Bailiffs, High-Steward, Sheriff, Grand Jury, and the reſt of the body politick of this ancient and loyal corporation, together with other perſons of quality both of the clergy and laity were convened together, and ſo became preſent at this great offering: As if ſome propitious ſtar ariſing in the Eaſt, had (at this time) gone before our Magus, ſteering its courſe to this our city of Litchfield (the Sarepta of our Elias) and ſtood over the new-erected pyramids of our cathedral (where as yet a ſtar appears) darting its benign influence upon this poor and loyal city, inviting the Magi

Magi from afar, to offer ſome tribute to it: A city that hath nothing to glory in, but its ancient and modern loyalty to God and Cæſar, evidenced by her ancient bearing in the city eſcutheon (three Knights martyred) as ancient as the days of Diocleſian, and her name ſignifying a field of blood then ſpilt; to which may be well added her modern and unparalleled loyalty to that bleſſed ſaint (now in heaven) King Charles the martyr; univerſally witneſſed by thoſe honourable marks, eraces, and wounds of loyalty, ſhe yet bears upon her perſons, temples, ſtreets, and walls; (trophies of honour) ſufficiently blazing to the world the true heraldry of her ancient arms: nor have you only given us this great cratera (upon which you have wiſely impreſt our city arms) to ſolace the beſt of the city, after their time of ſuffering; but, like one of thoſe true Magi that offered to Chriſt in his pooreſt condition, you have largely offered to the repair of his church, our ruined cathedral, which, by the unwearied labour, prudence, piety, and charity of our good (*a*) Biſhop, a ſecond Cedda, and the charity of yourſelf, and others, happily depoſited in his hands, is (almoſt to a miracle) ſo well and ſo ſoon reſtored

(*a*) Dr. Hacket.

again.

again. But you have likewiſe annually and liberally offered, relieved, and refreſhed Chriſt in his members, the poor of our city. And as if you intended piouſly to engroſs and cover all our neceſſities, under that warm and nouriſhing mantle of Elias, we have received intimation of your promiſes of greater good intended this great city. Now, Sir, give us leave to conclude (having been already too tedious) by informing you that, according to your deſire, (upon the firſt receipt of your Poculum Charitatis, at the ſign of the George for England) we filled it with catholick wine, and devoted it a ſober health to our moſt gracious King, which being of ſo large a continent, paſt the hands of thirty to pledge; nor did we forget yourſelf in the next place, being our great Mæcenas; aſſuring you that (God willing) we ſhall take courſe that this great Tina Argentea ſhall, with our city-mace, and other publick enſigns of dignity and authority, be carefully tranſmitted, by indenture, from Bailiffs to Bailiffs, in a continual ſucceſſion, ſo long as this ancient and loyal corporation through the favour of Princes (which we hope, we ſhall never forfeit) ſhall have a charter to give it life and being. For which end your many other multiplied favours to this poor

city, we, the preſent Bailiffs of this city, do, in the name (and by the deſire) of our whole company, return you moſt hearty thanks, ſubſcribing ourſelves, what we truly are,

Sir,

Your obliged faithful friends,

Litchfield, 26 Jan. 1666.

To ſerve you,

JOHN BARNES,
HEN. BAKER.

A Preface to the Catalogue of Archbiſhop Laud's Medals, drawn up by Mr. Aſhmole, and preſerved in the publick Library at Oxford, and referred to in Page 332 of this Work.

Lectori Benevolo, εὐπραγεῖν καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν.

CUM Oxoniam (Britannici lumen orbis principium, grandeque decus) commentandi gratia annos aliquot ante, me contuliſſem, Collegio Reginenſi Præpoſiti (tunc temporis autem in inclytâ hac Univerſitate, Proto Bibliothecarii Bodleiani) Doctoris

Doctoris Barlow poſtulatio, imo & expoſtulatio me non mediocriter afficere.

Querebatur enim eximiæ doctrinæ Vir, inter Academicos, (temporibus difficillimis illis quidem, & tyrannide Cromwelliana invaleſcente, duriſſimis) paucos tum ſupereſſet plurimis, artis & naturæ dotibus ſuſpiciendis, Oſtraciſmo etiamnum pulſis, aut (nec vanus timor) propediem pellendis, qui ad rei Antiquariæ ſtudium & veterum Numiſmatum cognitionem, quibus tamen affatim illic abundent Archiva, (paupertate & nova tyrannide preſſi) adjeciſſent animum. Supra laudati Doctoris, inquam, rogatu, conqueſtuque, hoc ultro mihimet (ut brevem illorum deſcriptionem exhiberem) penſum impoſui: Tum ad novitios & in rei Nummariæ ſcientia parum exercitatos, melius informandos, tum ad eorum Genium excitandum, qui ad tantum, tam proficuum, tam dignum, tam honorificum, tam denique neceſſarium erudito viro ſtudium aſpirare niterentur.

Hoc igitur ſic mihi propoſitum ſponteque ſuſceptum (arduum illud quidem, & laborioſæ plenum opus aleæ penſum) lætus aggredior, indies factione Cromwelliana, non ſine damno publico ingraveſcente, & paulo poſt Britanniæ παλιγγενεσίαν & ſacræ Regiæ Majeſtatis (auſpicato & quaſi poſtliminio) reditum, σὺν θεῷ ad finem perduxi. Sed cum hujus exſcriptum, manu pro-

pria cuperem exarare, ut ingenue fatear, mihi fuit ἀδύνατον ante hunc diem illud absolvere, cum negotiorum (quæ me continuo circumvallat) turba, modicum mihi subinde spatium, ad aliquid per intervalla & quasi furtim nonnunquam ex eo transcribendum permiserit. Verum antequam huic Operi considerando te Lector accingas, de nonnullis, & ad promptiorem ejus diligentiam, & ad faciliorem ejusdem usum, te monitum cupio.

Atque ut aggrediar, totum opus de antiquis Numismatis quibus Oxoniæ ditescunt Archiva, in tria dividitur Volumina. Primum est Consularium Nummorum, aliquosque Illustrium Romæ Familiarum, reliqua duo Imperatoria Numismata continent.

Huc accedit, quod Monetam, consulum Alphabetico locarim ordine potius, quam illam in annorum consulatus cujusque seriem redigerim: Multi etenim Consulares Nummi, nequaquam ab iis, quibus assimilantur, excusi sunt. Sed ab illis Triumviris Monetalibus Augusti regno, qui vellent ista ratione, vel quod forsan ab ipsis ducerent originem, ut præclaras illorum actiones aliquot exciperet, actueretur æternitas. Quod autem attinet ad Imperiales Nummos (qui hic incipiunt à Julio Cæsare, atque cum Heraclio desinunt) hi ad eos perfecte referuntur annos,

nos, in quibus conflati, procuſique fuere; cum relatione tamen ad tempus vel præcedens, vel ſubſequens Incarnationem Chriſti Salvatoris noſtri, quod characteribus iſtis expreſſi, A. C. hoc eſt, ante Incarnationem Chriſti, & J. C. id eſt, ab Incarnatione Chriſti. Qui characteres notantur in capite cujuſlibet paginæ, paucis exceptis, qui ſufficiens ad hoc, ut ad manifeſtam ſui temporis cognitionem deducere me queant, lumen deſiderare videntur. Atque iſtos quidem ſub imperatoris cujuſque regni finem, Anno ante eoſdem in margine nullo deſignato, collocare, quam eoſdem, cæteros inter intrudere certa ſine ratione, ſatius elegi. Idemque circa Imperatrices omnes, eandemque ob rationem, a me præſtitum eſt.

Præterea, ut ex quo genere metalli, quodlibet ex dictis Numiſmatis cuſum eſt, conſtare poſſit; metalla per has ſequentes diſtinxi notas AV. enim denotat aurum, AR. indicat argentum, Æ, denique ſignificat Æs.

Porro cum Ænei Nummi diverſæ magnitudinis exiſtant; ad triplicem præſertim (qua dignoſcantur) juxta numericas figuras (1.) (2.) & (3.) characteribus illorum præfixas (exceptis parvulis valdeque minutis aliquot, qui peculiariter pro talibus exhibentur) ad triplicem, inquam, præcique magnitudinem, revocari poſſunt.

Adde ſuperioribus, quod ubi quempiam argenteum Nummum, formam habentem ſecundæ magnitudinis æreorum invenio, quod ut duxtaxat ab ordinario diſtinguatur denario, figuram illi (2.) ſoleam adjungere.

Hanc, hoc gemino cum voto, præfatiunculam claudere mihi eſt animus D. O. M. enixe deprecatus, tum ut generoſorum hâc in parte Benefactorum numerum adaugeat: Tum ut eos qui priſca Numiſmata celeberrimum hoc in Ærarium conferunt, novis, quibus ſuam ſublevent inopiam, Numiſmatis, nunquam egere patiatur.

Pene omiſeram quemlibet poſt annum, hic a me de induſtria rilictum eſſe ſpatium, ut quid è novo dictum ad Theſaurum, antiqui ferentur Nummi, ad hunc quoque Catalogum, pari (quo ſuperiores) modo, referri valeant.

Scriptum in meo Medio Templi Muſæo, decimo Calendos Junias, Anno Jul. 1666.

E. ESHMOLE.

A copy

A copy of a letter from Doctor Barlow to Mr. Aſhmole, on his preſent of his books, deſcribing Archbiſhop Laud's cabinet of medals.

For my honoured Friend Elias Aſhmole, Eſq. at his chamber in the Middle Temple, theſe; London.

My dear Friend,

IT is a good while ſince I received your excellent preſent to our Univerſity-Library, and, 'ere this, told you ſo; and returned our many and hearty thanks, had I not been ſuddenly and unexpectedly called away to Worceſter, whence I am now returned. At the viſitation of Bodley's Library (when the Vice-Chancellor and all the Curators were met) I preſented your books to the Vice-Chancellor, and the reſt, in your name, as a teſtimony of your kindneſs and love to learning and our Univerſity; as alſo of your ability to enrich Bodley's Library with your own works. Any man who has a mind to it, and money, may give us good books of other mens making, but very few of their own; '*pauci quos æquus*

'*amavit Jupiter.*' Some more generous and ingenuous ſouls, a Selden, a Dugdale, or an Aſhmole may do this, none elſe. The Vice-Chancellor and Curators were exceeding well ſatisfied with, and very thankful for, your great charity and munificence to the publick. Care is taken, that your name and gift be recorded in our regiſter, *(a)* to your deſerved honour, and the incouragement of others, by your good example, if not to an equal, yet to a like liberality. And ſure I am, it will be an honour to you, and a comfort to your friends, when they ſhall find in our regiſter, that you have been ſo great a benefactor to Bodley's Library. My love and reſpects to yourſelf and my honeſt friend Mr. Dugdale. God Almighty bleſs you both, And,

Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

Queen's College,
Oxon. Decemb.
28, 1668.

T. BARLOW.

(a) P. 41.

For

For Elias Aſhmole, Eſq. at his Houſe in Lambeth.

Sir,

THE bearer hereof will need no recommendation from me, when you ſhall underſtand, that it is Doctor Plott, the learned author of the Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire. It is upon the reputation of your own worth, as well as your magnificent gift intended to the Univerſity, that he has the ambition to be better known to you. They are (I hear) deſigning to create a philoſophical lecture upon natural things; and their inclination to pitch upon this knowing gentleman for that purpoſe (whoſe talent and merits are ſo eminent) I am ſure, cannot miſs of your concurrent ſuffrage. I am only ſorry, that the affair, which carries me this morning out of town, deprives me of ſo deſired an opportunity of kiſſing your hand at Lambeth; who am, for many great obligations,

Sir,

Your moſt humble
And obedient ſervant,

Whitehall, 7 Dec. 1677.

J. EVELYN.

For

For the worſhipful and learned Elias Aſhmole, Eſq. at his houſe in South Lambeth, near London.

Moſt worthy and learned Sir;

BEING informed by my friend Mr. Gadbury, that there were ſeveral paſſages in my hiſtory, which did ſome way reflect on your great worth and learning, and alſo intimate me to be guilty of groſs rudeneſs and heat, I found it my duty to make this recantation; and ſo let you know that whatever in that kind may occur, I utterly repent and diſown; and am both heartily ſorry and aſhamed, that any way I ſhould prove ſo unhappily offenſive to ſo good and learned, ſo induſtrious and renowned a gentleman, whoſe books I am not worthy to bear after him. And, Sir, if it will pleaſe you to let me ſee a copy of the paſſages, as you have collected them, (which on occaſion I promiſe to return) with your confutations and reaſons annexed, I do ſolemnly proteſt, that I will make a publick recantation, or otherwiſe as you ſhall think fit: and alſo, if ever King Edward ſees another impreſſion, I will alter thoſe paſſages

paſſages as far as truth and equity ſhall acquire, ſtill proteſting in *verbo Sacerdotis*, that I never had any but honourable and reſpectful thoughts of you and Sir William Dugdale, *(Dii! quanto nomina)* and what I did, proceeded from a deſire of finding out the truth, however my frailty might betray me to an error. Sir, the honour of a line, eſpecially with an intimation of your good will, will be highly acceptable to the real honourer of your learning and goodneſs.

Emanuel College, Camb.
Oct. 15, 1688.

J. BARNES.

My humble duty to his Grace at Lambeth: and pray, Sir, have me recommended to my good maſter Doctor Goad and Mr. Gadbury, &c.

For

For my worthy friend M. Joſhua Barnes, at Emanuel College in Cambridge.

Sir,

MY preſent weak indiſpoſition has took me off from too much reſenting thoſe reflections you have made on me in your book, * and moulded in me more peaceable thoughts, than to be diſturbed at what you have done. Your letter makes me think there was no ill meaning in what you did, and perhaps nothing more than an inadvertent and overhaſty humour, which the civility of a penny-poſt letter would have cleared and prevented. I need not trouble myſelf, nor you, with giving you an account of thoſe paſſages that concern me: they are eaſily found out, for they carry my name along with them. All I expect from you is, that your acknowledgments to others (as you have occaſion) be what you have now made to me, and (if ever an oppor-

* The Hiſtory of King Edward the III. Folio, wherein Mr. Barnes reflected on Mr. Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, in a very groſs manner.

tunity

tunity be offered) to reprint your Hiſtory, then to rectify your copy.

Sir,

I am,

Your very humble ſervant,

Octob. 23, 1688.

E. ASHMOLE.

A copy of a letter from the Chapter of the Church of Litchfield to Mr. Aſhmole, communicated from the Regiſters of that cathedral.

Honoured Sir,

WHatever intereſt this city and church have in your birth and education, hath already redounded, in ſo much honour thereby, and in your continual bounty, to both, that we have not the confidence to back, with that topick, this our petition for your free gift towards finiſhing the ring of ten bells, inſtead of our former ſix bad and uſeleſs ones.

ones: nor, in truth, have we any other arguments, but your charity and our neceſſity; of the former, you have given us good proof, as we acknowledge with all thankfulneſs: and of the latter, we have too much, through the misfortunes of the work. The deceitfulneſs of the ground firſt making our honeſt bellfounder loſe his caſting the four biggeſt, to the damage of 30*l.* and now his error in overſizing the eight bells he hath caſt, ſo far that they have ſwallowed up all the metal for the ten; and that requires 80*l.* more to be added to our poor fund for the two other bells, proportionable to that bigneſs. But yet an error ſo much on the better hand, that would make extreamly for the advantage and glory of the Cathedral (the bigneſs of ſuch a ring far more beſitting the place; and theſe eight being judged ſo very good, that all are loth to have them broken, and caſt into leſs) if poſſibly that additional ſum could be raiſed. To this purpoſe 'Squire Diot, Mr. Walmiſley the Subchantor, and other Vicars and ringers are moſt induſtriouſly undertaking a new collection, and we and ſeveral others are willing anew to contribute; and if you will pleaſe to put to the helping hand of your piety and munificence, you will add ſignally to thoſe inſtances thereof already in our publick

cata-

catalogue of benefactors, and will highly oblige both thoſe zealous undertakers, and eſpecially,

Sir,

Your thankful humble ſervants,

Litchfield,
Oct. 15,
1688.

L. ADDISON.
H. GRESWOLD.
T. BROWNE.
J. HUTCHINSON.
C. COMYN.

FINIS.

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